

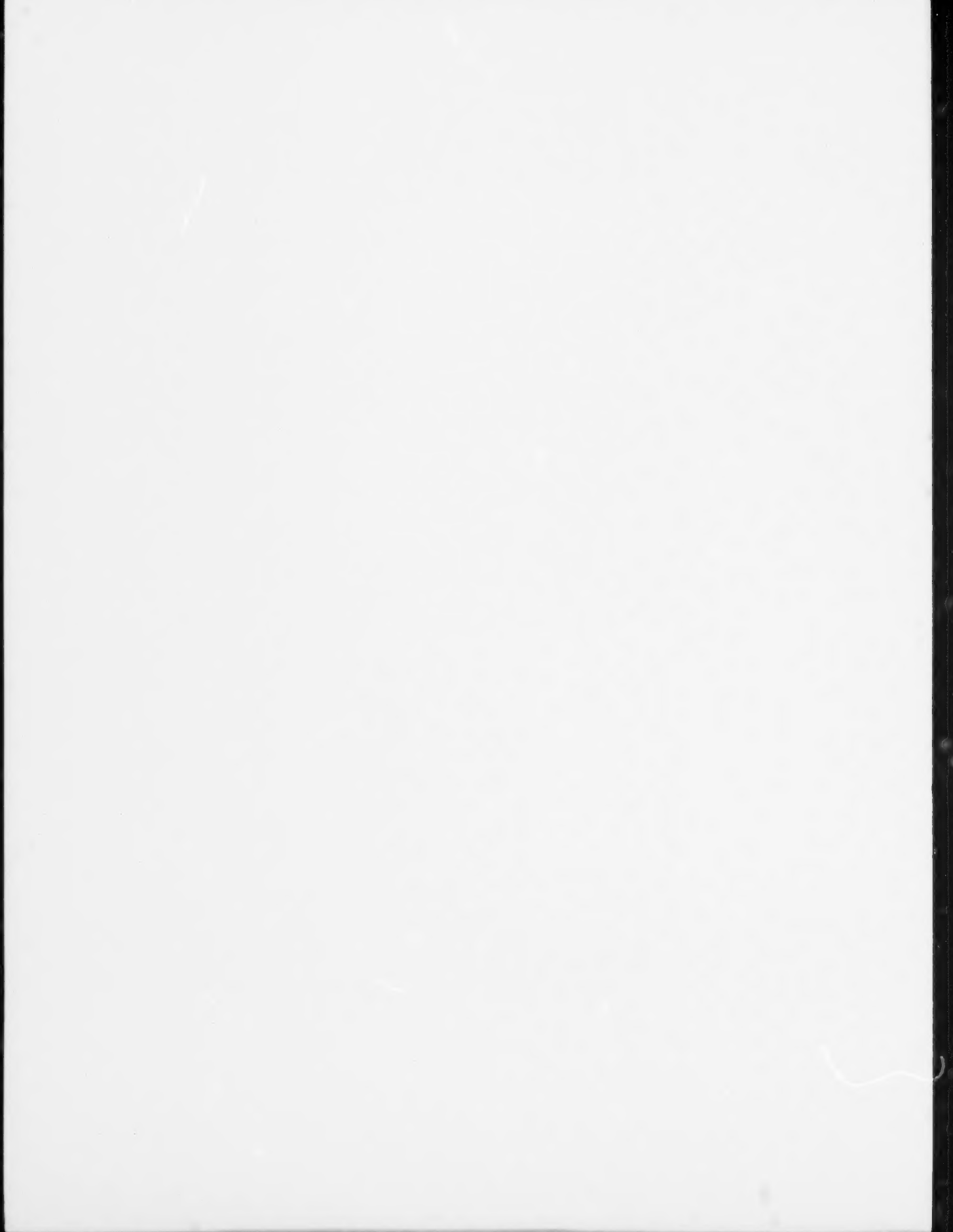
**C.N.R. EAST YARDS REDEVELOPMENT '84:
A SHOWCASE OF WINNIPEG'S PAST AND FUTURE**

Solomon Aremu
Richard Brundrige
Jeffrey Lowe
Ioannis Ziotas



**INSTITUTE
OF URBAN
STUDIES**

UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG



C.N.R. EAST YARDS REDEVELOPMENT '84:
A SHOWCASE OF WINNIPEG'S PAST AND FUTURE

Report No. 17

by

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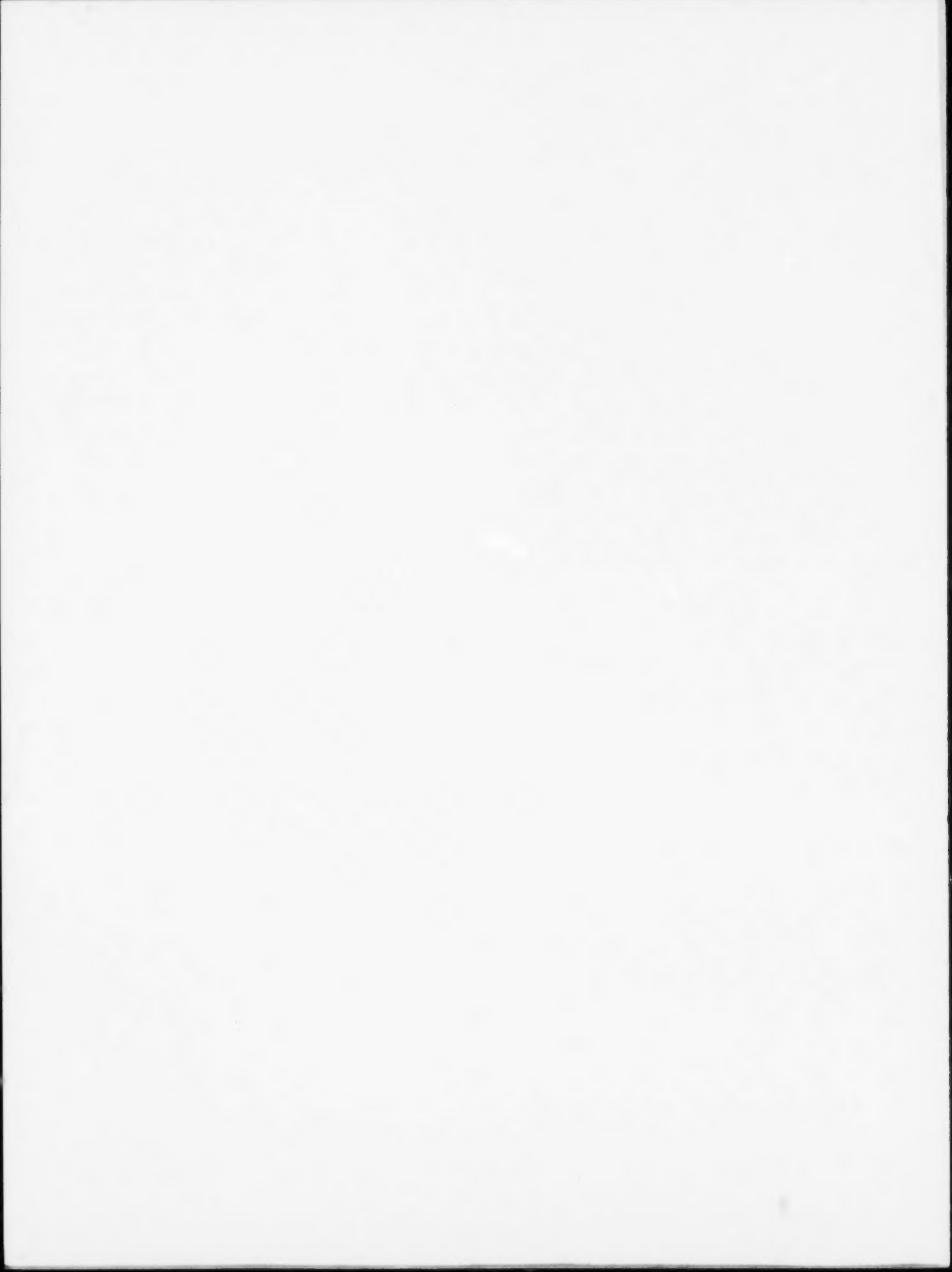


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1.0 INTRODUCTION: A FRESH LOOK

Over the years since 1965, a host of potential alternative uses have been proposed and debated for the Canadian National Railway's under utilized storage and transfer yards abutting Main Street South in downtown Winnipeg: showpiece park; cultural centre; high-rise office district; sports complex; luxury apartment towers; and national historic monument (to cite but a few of the more enthusiastically-received suggestions). No less than three conceptual plans (covering the entire site) - possessing varying degrees of merit and daring - have received serious official attention and consideration. Dozens of others, no doubt, never forsook their authors' doting custody for the harsh glare of public scrutiny.

All, however, shared a common fate: cancellation, rejection, or postponement. Whether the result of inertia, fractiousness, market fluctuations, timidity, or skepticism, the East Yards still languish in much the same antiquated, empty, and rustbound condition as was the case twenty years ago. For want of vision and determination, an unrivalled opportunity to salvage a key, unspoiled slice of Winnipeg's past - and, to fashion a glittering exhibition grounds of its present and future wares - has been squandered.

There is, by contrast, a rekindled sense of optimism taking root in the Winnipeg of the mid-1980s. High profile public and private investment and redevelopment efforts presently being undertaken are helping noticeably to better knit together the shopworn fabric of a downtown riddled by decades of neglect. Until significant inroads could be made in restoring the existing developed central business district to a semblance of vigour, the conventional planning wisdom had held that no competing large-scale downtown expansion projects should be permitted to proceed. There was after all, only a severely limited supply of "risk capital" with which to attempt to get a downtown "renaissance" underway (what with a slack local economy - and the eyes of developers turned fixatedly toward the suburbs).

With large-scale renewal now in progress in "North of Portage" and

elsewhere in Winnipeg's core, a firmer sense of downtown's identity is taking shape. New proposals are being "plugged into" previously completed ones; the outlines of an overall "development plan" are gradually emerging. In view of the quickening pace of investment interest of late, perhaps it is an opportune time to re-examine the C.N.R. East Yards - now that we have a more secure idea of how this missing central "piece" may best be fitted into the "jigsaw puzzle" of downtown development.

Given the uniqueness and symbolic eminence of this quite large tract of virtually vacant land, Winnipeggers' "go-slow" attitude towards its improvement becomes understandable. Whatever is ultimately done with the site, there has been an insistence from "Day One" that quality of design must supersede the usual, commercial imperatives.

The authors of the plan unveiled in this report hope that we have been true to that trust. In sifting through past proposals, we have, we believe, culled those aspects worthy of retention. In preparing our work, we have benefitted immensely from the comments and suggestions of the knowledgeable authorities consulted throughout. Lastly, in formulating our own ideas with which to leaven the plan, our appreciation of the task was made easier by being able to assess their appropriateness against the contextual backdrop of the recent spate of major redevelopment activity presently transforming Winnipeg's core areas.

1.1 Location of the Site

See Map 1, Illustration 1.

C.N. Railway's East Yard is located at the hub of both land and water-borne transport in the Winnipeg Metropolitan area. The land lies southeast of the intersection of Portage Avenue and Main Street, and northwest of the junction of Red and Assiniboine Rivers. In addition, it straddles the main Canadian National Railway transcontinental line which runs adjacent to the existing downtown core.



Illustration 1. Location of future historic park, southeast quadrant, C.N. Railyards, Downtown Winnipeg.

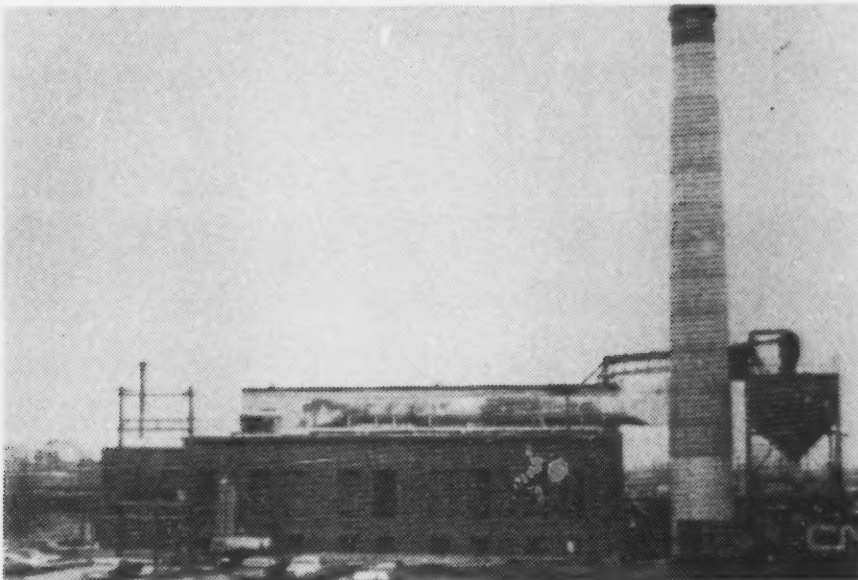


Illustration 2. Privately-operated steam generator plant (C.N. owned) furnishing heat to all on-site buildings.

SITE LOCATION 1

**C.N. EAST YARDS, WINNIPEG
DEVELOPMENT PLAN**

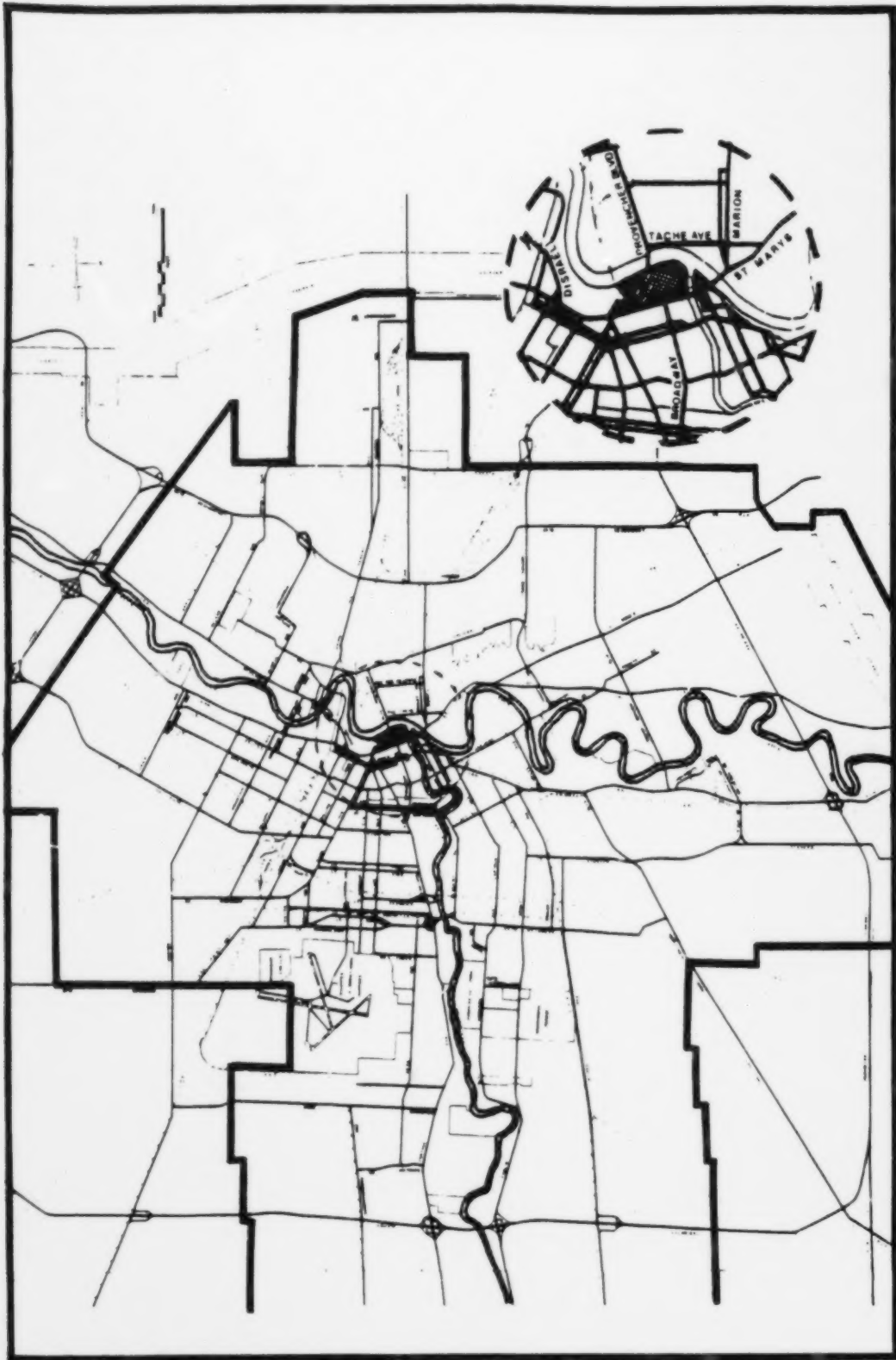
SITE LOCATION 1

STUDY GROUP AREMU 1
 BRUNDRIGE 2
 LOWE 1
 ZLOTAS 1

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APRIL 1984

MAP 1
SITE LOCATION



1.2 Study Objectives

The aims of this project are to identify the economic and political fundamental forces that have been brought to bear on the C.N. East Yards of Winnipeg; and to issue and expound upon an "optimum" conceptual plan for the site's future upgrading.

2.0 A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SITE

During the early years of permanent White settlement in what went on to become the Winnipeg metropolitan area, the strategic lands straddling the Assiniboine River at its confluence with the Red quickly emerged as the original locus of trade and homesteading. Known to locals as "The Forks," between 1830 and 1870 the site hosted no less than three of the four major forts (Forts Rouge, Gibraltar, and Upper Fort Garry No. 1) which protected the Red River Colony and provided secure outposts for the exchange of staple goods on which the region's commerce was founded.

Prior to the arrival of the great, transcontinental railroads, packet boats and steamers plied the Red and Lake Winnipeg; flat-bottom boats and barges, the Assiniboine. Both discharged and transferred passengers and wares at The Forks. The inaugural Canadian Pacific railway route (1881) bypassed the river junction in favour of Point Douglas (a mile or two further upstream).

In 1884, a corporate ancestor of the competing Canadian Northern Railway purchased the site from its then-owner, the Hudson's Bay Company, for the purpose of locating its downtown rail passenger terminal, freight depot, repair shops, and marshalling yard. Railroad brass anticipated drawing profitably on a prospective interface with waterborne freight and passenger traffic. This, ironically, failed to materialize - as the hub of the area's development shifted instead inland and northward to the junction of major overland routes (present-day Portage and Main).

Rather than mounting a head-on challenge to Canadian Pacific's then-monopoly over east/west rail trans-shipment, the Northern Pacific & Manitoba line opted (beginning in 1889) to implement a north/south linkage into the U.S. rail network. Canadian Northern - upon acquiring the floundering Northern Pacific & Manitoba line in 1901 - incorporated the East Yards into its cross-country mainline (then steadily inching toward the West Coast).

In the ensuing decade, Canadian Northern arranged to lease and share the downtown facilities it had inherited from the Northern Pacific & Manitoba line with another expansion-minded Canadian railroad - the Grand Trunk Pacific. The latter plant being quickly outgrown under the strain of catering to booming railway-induced commerce, in 1909 the main shops and yards were moved southward across the Assiniboine to Fort Rouge. Additionally, a magnificent new passenger terminal - Union Station - was opened at the head of Broadway Avenue in 1911.

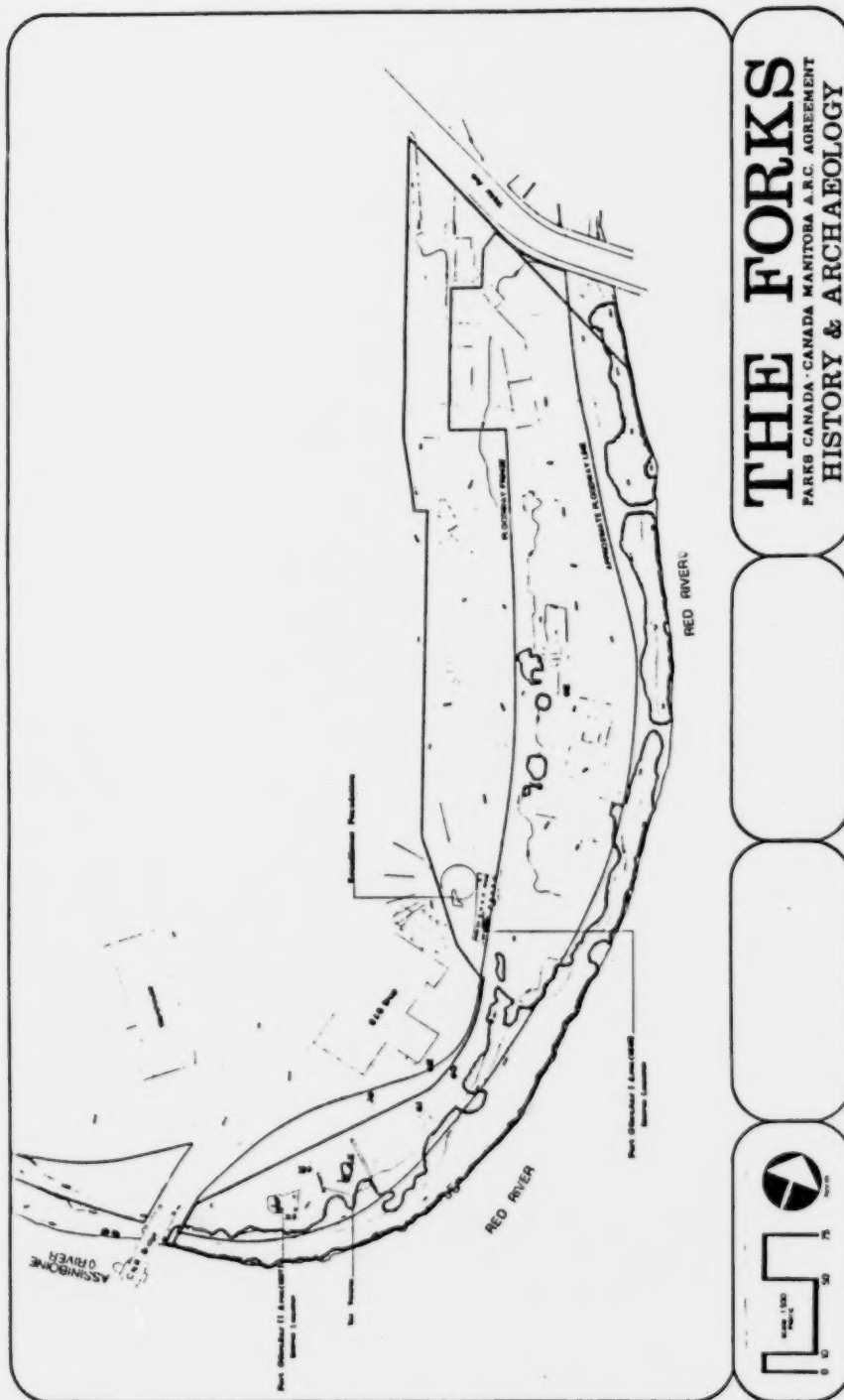
The virtual cessation of the flood of westbound immigration in the wake of World War I plunged both a suddenly overextended and under worked Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific into insolvency in 1981. Through a "rescue mission" amalgamating the former with a third, eastern railroad (the National Transcontinental), the publicly-owned corporation we now know as the Canadian National Railway was brought into being in 1923 by the federal government of the time.

During the course of the installation of the railyards, remnants of the aforementioned historic forts were presumed to have been buried under the thick layer of landfill which was spread over the site (see Exhibit A). As well, the "fencing off" of the site for all but railway-oriented uses had the dramatic effect of steering Winnipeg's axis of development away from the junction of navigable waterways (in the manner previously alluded to).

By the 1960s, trucking and intercity buses had cut deeply into the railroads' former shipping dominance. Reluctantly conceding this trend, Canadian National began relocating its freight-handling operations increasingly away from the downtown East Yards to the suburban Symington Yards

EXHIBIT A

Parks Canada, Archaeological Exploration Sites
at "The Forks"



- in pursuit of customers availing themselves of newer, cheaper, and more commodious work and storage space in the industrial parks which had then begun to proliferate. In face of the inroads made by highway-based competition-and, as a result of the aforesaid operation shift - C.N. gave tacit indication that its East Yard site had become both obsolete, and surplus to its freight-handling requirements. In this fashion, the lands were unofficially "thrown open" for redevelopment.

The final stage of historic development came under the rulership of the Hudson's Bay Company (1812 - 1870). In 1822 Fort Gibraltar was rebuilt and renamed Fort Garry. Remnants of this fort are still standing today (across the street from Union Station). Concurrent with the reign of the Hudson's Bay Company, transportation to the Prairie region was steadily improving. Fort Garry was given new economic impetus, making it the nexus for trade and trans-shipment, from the south as well as from the north and west.¹ Steamer traffic on the Red River and the construction of the Pacific Railway acted as magnets to encourage even further growth. "The Forks" and Fort Garry were increasingly becoming the unchallenged hub of Western Canada.² It was only a matter of time before Fort Garry was reborn as the "new municipality of Winnipeg."

3.0 A CATALOGUE OF EXISTING LAND USES

3.1 Structures on the Site

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, site and buildings were shared by the Grand Trunk Pacific, Canadian Northern, and National Transcontinental Railways. Around 1918, the three private lines (then bankrupt) were acquired by Ottawa and amalgamated to form the Canadian National Railway. The four major structures which comprise the legacy of the early railway era are:

- i) the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Engine house constructed in 1889;
- ii) Union Station - a classical, pre-World War I railway passenger terminal (with rotunda) designed by the renowned New York architectural firm of McKim, Mead, and White; and
- iii) the Canadian Northern Cartage Company stables - two elongated, side-by-side, two-storey structures built in 1909. They were orig-

BUILDING CONDITION 2

C.N. EAST YARDS, WINNIPEG
DEVELOPMENT PLAN

LEGEND



GOOD



FAIR



POOR

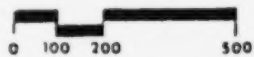


VERY POOR

BUILDING
CONDITION 2

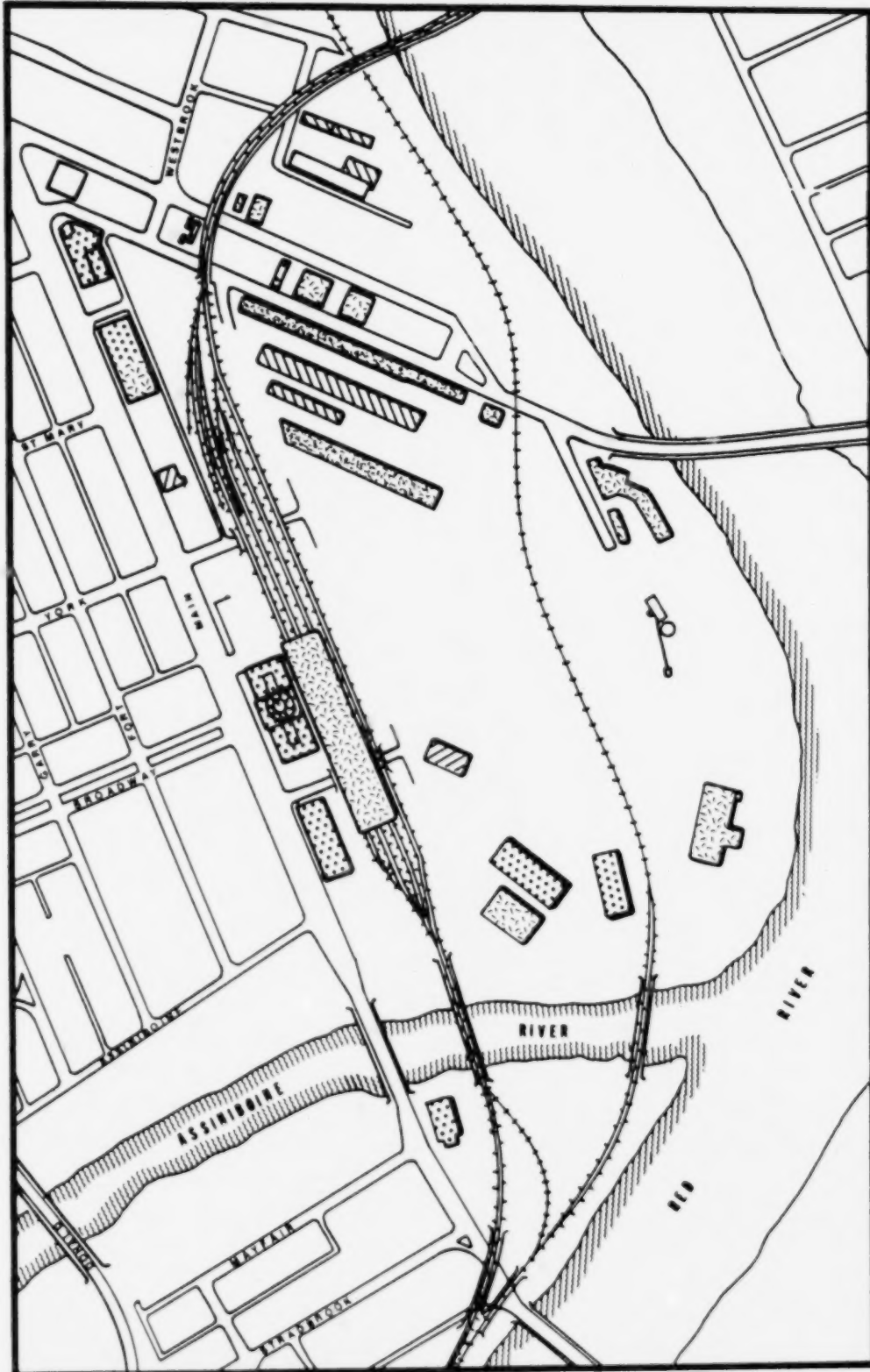
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MAP 2
BUILDING CONDITION



inally used to quarter about 120 horses for the railway's cartage and express division.

3.2 Building Condition

The condition and description of the major buildings on the East Yard site, exclusive of Union Station are as follows:

i) C.N. Express Garage

This building was originally designed for use as a stable; it is presently utilized for vehicle storage and the pouring of concrete forms. Aesthetically, it is of little innate interest, with brick interior walls, wooden ceilings and much exposed ductwork. It does not appear to have been adjudged to merit the upkeep that other buildings have received; thus has been labelled in fair condition.

ii) C.N. Training Centre

This building serves several functions: seminar and conference rooms, administrative offices, staff gymnasium, motor pool, and dispatcher's office. It has received an extensive interior retrofit with polished wood floors and drop ceiling. Owing to these renovations, it is in excellent condition.

iii) C.N. Bridges and Structures

This is the oldest remaining structure on the site, having been constructed in 1889. Its original function consisted of serving as a roundhouse (for engine shunting and repair) and blacksmith shop. Presently its use is as a dispensary for railway tools and supplies; and as winter storage grounds for the steam locomotive, "Prairie Dog Central." Due to its advanced age and lack of conscientious upkeep, it is in fair condition.

iv) Johnston Terminal Warehouse

The purpose of this building had been freight handling and warehousing operations. The occupants of the building vacated the premises seven years ago due to market rationalization. It is likewise an aged building but structurally impressive. Massive wooden uprights and ceiling beams as well as flawless exposed

brickwork attest to this building being in essentially sound condition. The drawbacks to its overnight reactivation relate to buckling wooden floors and high heating costs. A retrofit would be needed to enable it to function in alternate, contemporary use. Being the highest building (four storey) on the site, it offers panoramic rooftop views of the city. Much latent potential exists for this building.

v) Loading Sheds

These three sheds are of little evident merit. They are wooden, jerry-built structures which have fallen into an advanced state of decrepitude. A number of attached administrative offices have been maintained providing a useful function. At one time, the sheds did house an important freight-offloading function - but in their present condition could pose a safety hazard for personnel, and are likely beyond redemption. They consequently rate a poor assessment.

vi) Fort Garry Curling Club

This building is removed from the majority of other buildings on the site. It is located on the south side of the Assiniboine River, adjoining Main Street. This is by far the newest building on C.N. land. It houses a privately-operated curling club, but is also available to be rented for social events. Due to its newness and rigorous maintenance, it is in very good condition.

vii) C.N. Steam Generator Plant

This installation supplies heat for all on-site buildings as well as the Fort Garry Hotel (see Illustration 2). Inasmuch as it is coal fired, and is due for a complete overhaul in five to ten years, it is presumed that the facility will have to be torn down; existing and proposed buildings will thenceforth be plugged into the downtown area's public heating plant. Presently this structure is in poor condition.

FUNCTIONAL AREAS 3

**C.N. EAST YARDS , WINNIPEG
DEVELOPMENT PLAN**

LEGEND



HEAVY INDUSTRIAL



HISTORICAL (PARK)



LIGHT INDUSTRIAL

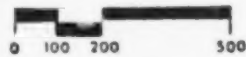


COMMERCIAL

**FUNCTIONAL
AREAS****3**

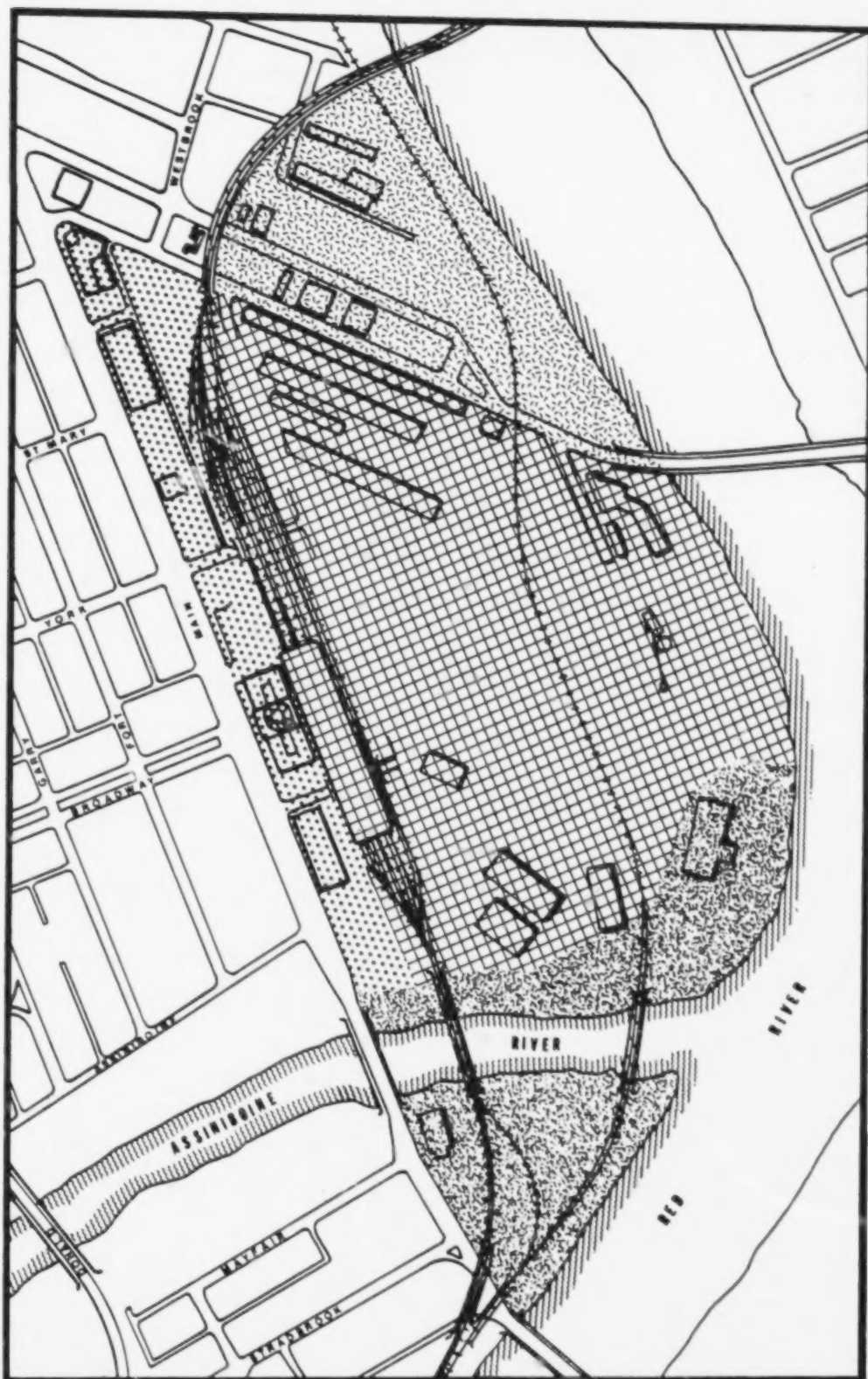
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MAP 3
FUNCTIONAL AREAS



4.0 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

The land - which is about 110 acres - is bounded by Main Street East, Water Avenue and the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The C.N. East Yard proper is physically divided into two major sub-sections. The first section which surrounds the C.N. Union Station is roughly 100 acres. Most of these 100 acres lie behind the C.N. Union Station. The second section of the land which is triangular in shape, located at the south junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and bordered by the Main Street Bridge, is 11 acres.

4.1 The Topography

The land is uniformly flat and featureless. There is a considerable depth of land fill covering the entire site. The other outstanding feature of the site terrain is the steep clay riverbank, thickly covered with stands of stunted, native poplar, Manitoba maple, ash and elm.

4.2 Functional Areas

C.N.'s East Yards display four more or less distinct functional areas as illustrated in Functional Areas Map 3, which include:

- i) Main Street Strip (17.5 acres) is mainly devoted to retail and commercial purposes. The land is not terribly useful in its present state because it is sub-divided into shallow lots hemmed in at the backlines by the railway embankment. Evidence of this is the preponderance of automobile parking and storage lots (see Illustration 3).
- ii) The Railway Yards (100 acres). Apart from Union Station itself and four administrative and storage buildings maintained by C.N. in the southeast corner of the site, this section is marked almost entirely by rusting and abandoned trackage and sidings (see Illustration 4). In its heyday, the site was operated as a freight-transfer facility and zoned for heavy industrial uses.
- iii) The triangular wedge of land to the immediate north-east of the railway yard (23.3 acres) is characterized by light industrial and

warehousing activities. A prominent feature is a Winnipeg Hydro generator sub-station (see Illustration 5).

- iv) An area presumed to contain a mass concentration of buried historical artifacts (47.8 acres). Occupying both banks of the Assiniboine River at its confluence with the Red River, it was the location of three of the four original forts and trading posts that served the Red River Colony. It includes the tip of the narrow tongue of the Fort Rouge land mass known as "South Point" (see Illustration 6).

TABLE 1

Functional Areas Within Existing East Yard Site

Area	Acreage
A Northeastern Tier	23.29 acres
B Main Street Strip	17.53 acres
C Railway Yards	76.78 acres*
D Point Fort Rouge	10.95 acres*
E Heritage Area *Note: included in C & D above	(47.74 acres)
TOTAL LAND MASS	128.55 acres

4.3 Physical Barriers

The area's binding physical features ironically serve to make ready contact with its neighbours an ordeal. These include railway embankments which form a virtually impenetrable wall between the yard site and the adjacent downtown core (see Illustration 7 and Land Subdivision Map 5). Moreover, Point Fort Rouge is so totally dominated by bridge approach embankments as to make interface between surface-land and riverbank extremely difficult.



Illustration 3. Main Street, looking north from Broadway, showing car lots.



Illustration 4. Empty sidings, rusting trackage at the heart of the former freight marshalling yards.



Illustration 5. Light industrial and warehousing area, north of Water Avenue.

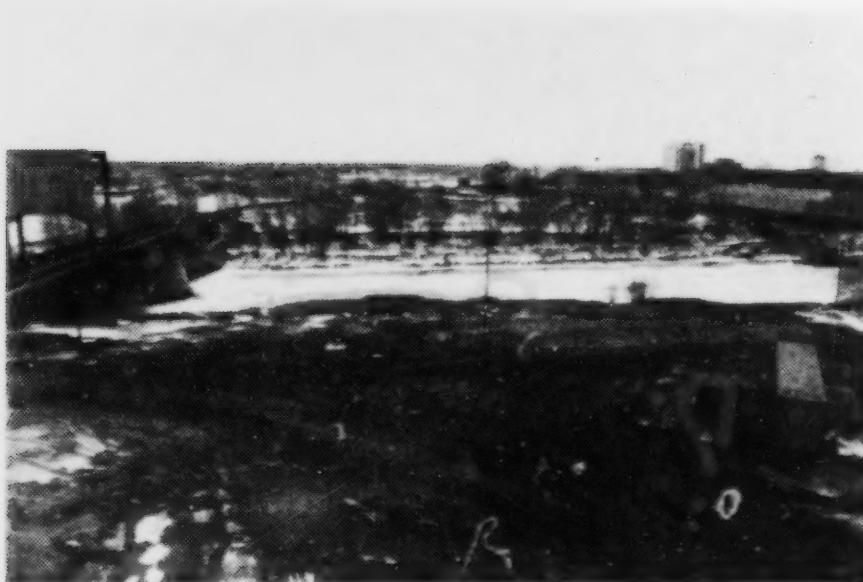


Illustration 6. Point Fort Rouge from opposite bank of the Assiniboine River.

BINDING ELEMENTS 4

C.N. EAST YARDS, WINNIPEG
DEVELOPMENT PLAN

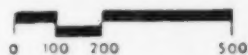
LEGEND

	UNION STATION
	MAIN-LINE
	ROADWAY
	RIVER
	VEGETATION

BINDING
ELEMENTS 4

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MAP 4
BINDING ELEMENTS

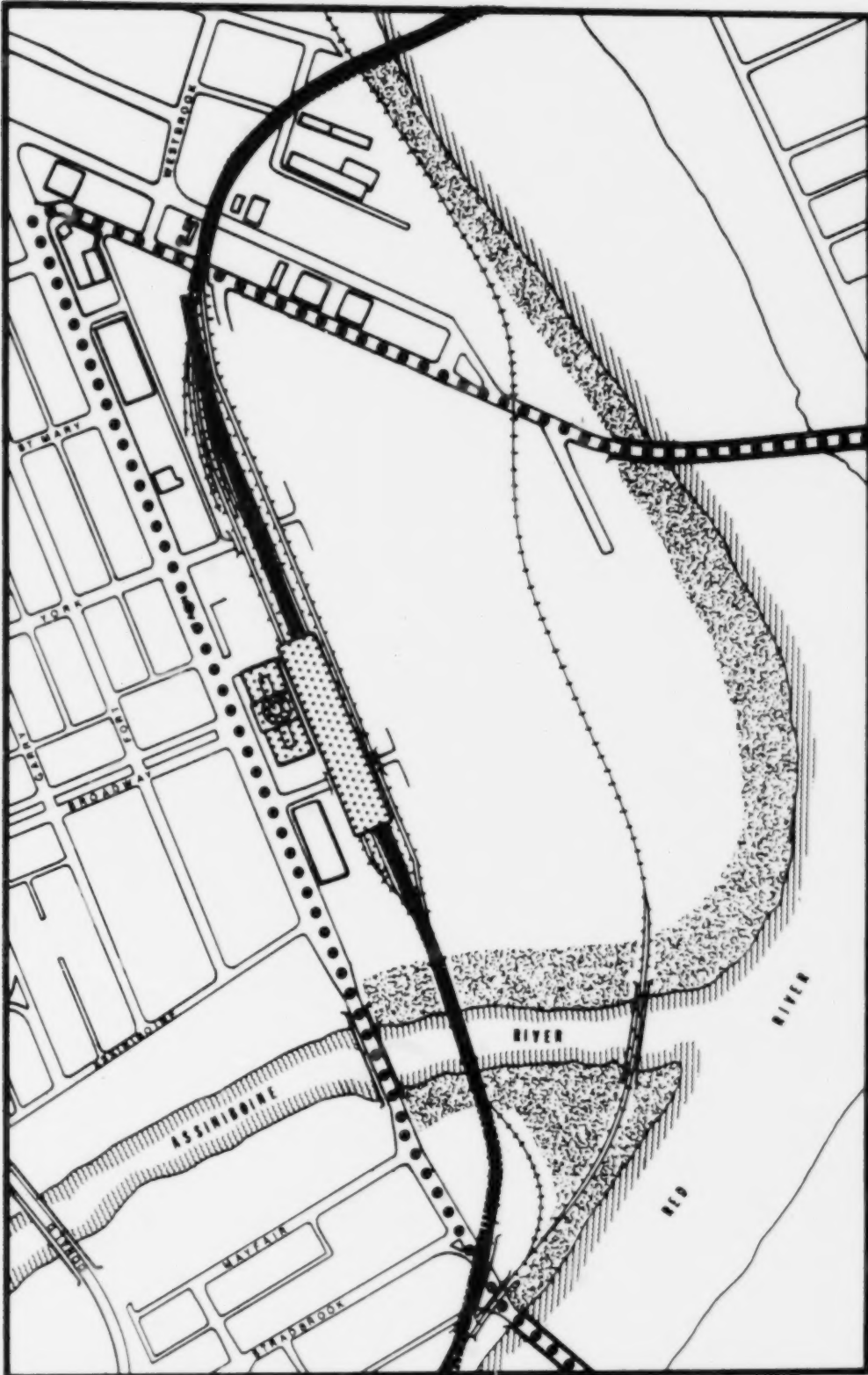




Illustration 7. Immediately to the east of the railway embankment-illustrating the barrier effect.

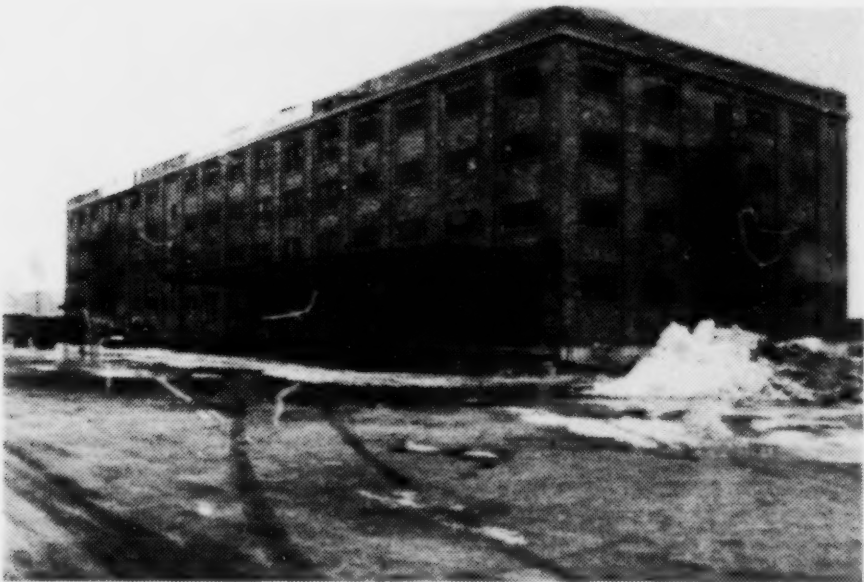


Illustration 8. Mothballed Johnston Terminal Warehouse (future site perhaps of a self-contained Farmers' Market).

Main Street South - which is about 132 feet wide, with daily heavy traffic on four lanes northbound and four lanes southbound - creates a canyon effect blockading the retail strip along its sides from convenient pedestrian interchange, as depicted in Illustration 7. Water and Pioneer Avenues have a similarly disruptive impact on the northern tier of the site.

The rivers physically isolate the site to access to and from St. Boniface and render its easterly portion a dead-end destination to vehicular and pedestrian traffic bound from points west.

Through the installation of a series of pedestrian links, and the revival of full-fledged rail and waterborne commuter transport, physical features of the site which presently act to retard its full exploitation may yet be recast as "binding elements."

5.0 DISCUSSION OF RECENT DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS

The redevelopment of the C.N. East Yards has been discussed since the early 1970s. Abandonment and/or relocation of railway tracks has afforded the city the opportunity to create a new development on virtually a barren landscape once the trackage has been removed. Railway sites are probably preferred for development over revitalizing an area already occupied by buildings because of the general absence of demolition costs. The C.N. East Yards in Winnipeg, adjoining the downtown area, being a large tract of land, a scenic historical site - in short having immense development potential - possess all the requisite attractions. The purpose of this section is to discuss several of the major proposals put forward to develop the site.

5.1 Great West Life (Damas and Smith - 1973)

The first major proposal was released in 1973. This study was prepared on behalf of representatives from the C.N.R., The Great-West Life Assurance Company and the consulting firm of Damas and Smith. They were collectively known as the East Yards Study Group and the proposal they submitted was

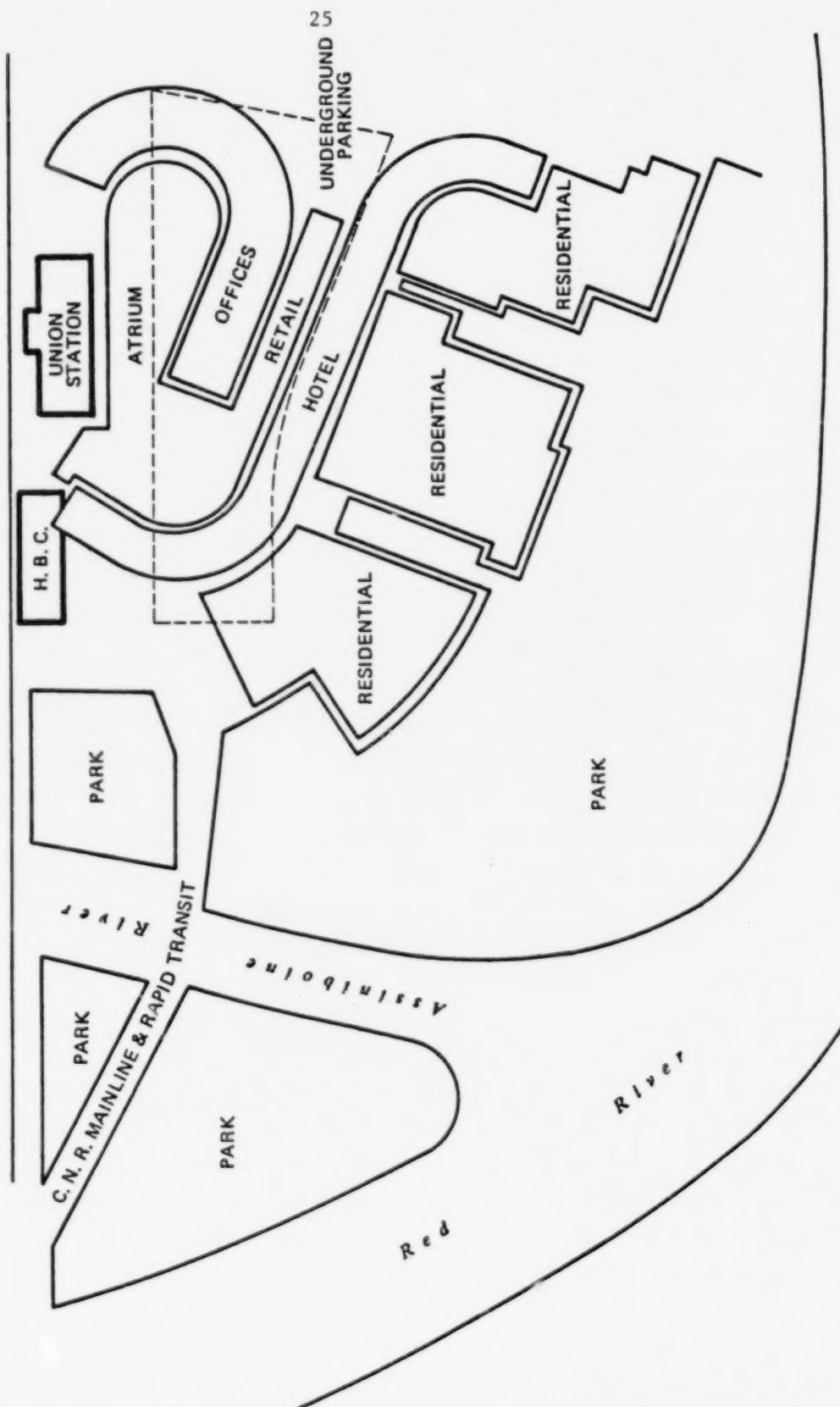
entitled, "Urban Design - East Yard Redevelopment."

This proposal seriously grappled with the physical and environmental character of the site. Being that the main line of the C.N. Railway passes through the area with the Union Station on the west side of the development, it would be a "given" that the main line remain in place. To afford pedestrian access to the site and to surmount the tracks, a footbridge would be constructed over the tracks. This bridge as well as being functional, would attend to aesthetic considerations by providing a view of the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and further eastward. Respecting the natural environment, or climatic conditions, the proposal suggested the buildings on the site be orientated to take optimal advantage of the sun's rays and to minimize the effect of the prevailing north-west winds. To accomplish this, a terracing arrangement would deflect the wind away from inhabited areas, allow maximum penetration of the sun and allow an unobstructed view of the rivers and proposed parklands.

The proposal stressed a development mix (see Exhibit B), consisting of nine major components: an office block (1,000,000 sq.ft.); a retail concourse (800,000 sq.ft.); a recreation hotel (400 to 600 rooms); a housing complex (10,000 units); an enclosed public space; a public park bounded by the Red and Assiniboine Rivers; a renovation of Union Station; a public transit station; and parking facilities. This development would be phased into being over a twenty-five year period.

The salient attribute of this proposal was the development mix. Some features are customary in an area adjoining the downtown, such as the office component, retail component, recreation, hotel and parking facilities. An innovation for Winnipeg, a public downtown park along the riverbank would provide passive recreation as well as enabling the nurturing of the historical resources surrounding The Forks. Another "first" suggested in this concept was a public transit station - a means of heightening accessibility which would tie in neatly with the transportation focus of Union Station. An attractive aspect of this proposal was the enclosed public space. This was to be an atrium, protected against the elements of weather, providing the scene

MAIN STREET



for cultural events, seasonal festivals, an ethnic quarter, and an entertainment section which would offer sport facilities. The overall theme of this conceptual plan was to attract Winnipeggers as well as tourists on a year-round basis by the variety of attractions.

One area which was not adequately defended was the housing component. This aspect called for a mix of housing types, such as family housing, singles housing, economic rental housing, social housing, and condominiums. This area of the city could likely sustain a successful housing component; and the view of the river could demand an above-average rent; but if families are to be viable as tenants of the housing component, how would the education of the children be provided for? There was no specific inclusion of public schools on-site, and the nearest public school is across the Assiniboine River on Mayfair Avenue.

Of the four major redevelopment concepts which have come forward over the years, this earliest attempt is easily the most imaginative and intriguing. Internal circulation on the site is accomplished entirely by pedestrian walkways and galleries. River vistas are strongly embellished and highlighted. Imitative and deadening rectangular structures are eschewed - in favour of sweeping, counterposed spirals and irregularly-shaped, pyramidal stacks.

Yet this generally commendable plan is not without significant design flaws (some of them imposed by site limitations). Despite the author's protestations against any overshadowing of the site and the intimidation of pedestrians by highrise buildings, the spectacular bulk and juxtaposition of the hotel and office components create a similar overall impact. The massive clustering of buildings at the eastern extremity of the site effectively walls off the more easterly parkland and riverfront sector - discouraging potential pedestrian interface with the existing downtown business core; there is no intimation or visual "peek" from Main Street as to the presence of the open, scenic space that lies beyond. Finally, it is questionable whether a cavernous, 3,500-stall underground parking garage represents an ideal point of introduction and departure to be endured by most visitors upon experiencing

the site and facilities.

5.2 All Park Proposal (Board of Commissioners, City of Winnipeg - 1975)

A second major proposal came out in 1975. This proposal was prepared by a task force established by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Winnipeg. It was prompted in part by expressions of interest by private financial concerns in undertaking the complete redevelopment of the site (exemplified by the surfacing of the "Great West Life" plan); and, in part by the outspoken desire by then-mayor Stephen Juba to see the downtown C.N. lands donated to the City of Winnipeg for conversion into a major regional park (consisting of unspecified greenspace, recreational and cultural facilities, and national historic landmark). It was desired to determine the approximate extent of the contribution local taxpayers would be required to make toward the construction, servicing, and upkeep of whatever types of attractions (public and/or private) were ultimately given approval.

By way of preamble, the conformity of any hypothetical East Yards schemes to the then Greater Winnipeg Development Plan and the Downtown Winnipeg Plan were suggested. Furthermore, the jurisdictional and legal ramifications of any agreement between the City of Winnipeg and the C.N.R. were also referenced. The upshot of the introduction was that "neither the C.N.R. nor the City of Winnipeg can unilaterally determine the future development of the East Yards."³

In adherence to these qualifying remarks, this (in effect, counter-) proposal undertook to address itself to the pluses and minuses of the proposal from the East Yards Study Group. It was the belief of the task force that:

to foster the revitalization process, it is necessary to restrict the redevelopment of the East Yards to uses or configurations which would not normally be expected to locate in the existing downtown. The office, retail and hotel components of the redevelopment could certainly normally be expected to locate in the existing downtown. On the other hand, redevelopment of the East Yards which involves uses or configuration of development which would complement the idea of existing intensive development should be encouraged. The housing component...could be defined as complementary.⁴

The analysis by the Task Force considered the traffic which would be generated

by the East Yard Study Group proposal and deemed it "significant and highly undesirable."⁵ It would be necessary to make major changes to the downtown street pattern to accommodate a development on such a scale.

The proposal by the Task Force suggested a total park alternative. It was propositioned that the thrust of any more intensive, multiple-use nodes within the park should be towards incorporating unique facilities and features; those not common throughout the existing city parks' system. To cite specifics:

the theme or main objective of the park, indisputably should centre around the significance of The Forks of the two rivers in relation to Canadian history....All other major facilities and activities should complement the theme and could themselves be attractions, such as a high quality amphitheatre, a cultural-interpretive centre, a waterfowl lagoon, a marina, etc.⁶

In order to facilitate the proposal, "it would appear essential that roadway extensions be constructed as this area is separated from the city proper by the railroad tracks."⁷

This proposal stressed the need to develop the area with uses not found within the downtown core. The rationale behind this was to encourage better use of the existing business facilities of the downtown, not to spread them still more thinly. Winnipeg, like other Canadian cities, has seen a growth of suburban shopping centres leading to a decline of retail activities within the downtown core. The all-park proposal could provide a historic and recreational opportunity of considerable magnitude within the region - perhaps simultaneously providing an attraction which would foster greater use of the central business district by the consumer. On a gloomier note, as the concluding remarks of the report suggest, the park proposal "may not be a complementary use if under-utilized by the public due to the physical remoteness."⁸

An additional point raised by this document which may pose a significant complicating factor to any prospective development is the involvement of disparate parties in the decision-making process. It was emphasized that neither the City of Winnipeg nor the C.N.R. can solely determine the future fate of the East Yards. It may further be suggested that the Federal

government may have a vested interest as well, because of the C.N.R. being a Crown corporation. Any proposal seen as suitable to this site will require approval by these three parties. If they persist in enunciating conflicting mandates, no proposal will ultimately be found workable.

5.3 Oxford (Smith Carter Partners/Skidmore Owings Merrill - 1977)

In 1977, a joint venture of Canadian National Railways and the Great West Life Assurance Company was again struck in a bid to rectify the failure of the 1973 Damas & Smith concept to gain civic support. Taking the moniker "East Yards Development Corporation," the two would-be landlords set about commissioning a plan of development aimed primarily at securing prestigious new locations and headquarters buildings for their Winnipeg home offices. Oxford Development Group Ltd. was assigned management of the project - while architectural design work and site planning became the responsibility of a consortium composed of the Winnipeg firm of Smith Carter Partners in consultation with the prominent New York firm of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill.

The solution which emerged the second time around was decidedly more conventional in form than its predecessor. Once again, a development mix was stressed, the prime ingredients being office towers, hotel, retail stores, apartments and an arena (see Exhibit C). The course of implementation of this proposal would take place in stages sequenced over a twenty to twenty-five period. The phasing of events would be as follows:

- Stage 1 - Arena, 110,000 square feet, with capacity for 16,000 to 20,000 patrons;
- Stage 2 - Office towers (Great West Life and C.N.R. tower), each with approximately 500,000 square feet of floor space;
- Stage 3 - High density residential: five 200 unit apartment towers, three 150 unit low-rise apartments and a 400 room hotel;
- Stage 4 - Enclosed retail arcade of approximately 600,000 square feet;
- Stage 5 - Office towers (3): 35 storey, 1,200,000 square feet, located immediately south of the Federal Building; two office towers each consisting of 150,000 square feet between Great West Life and the C.N.R. towers;
- Stage 6 - Office towers, four buildings located in the vicinity of Stage 2, each consisting of approximately 150,000 square feet;
- Stage 7 - Office towers, Main Street north of York at 400,000 square feet.

The conceptual plan shows a redevelopment area bounded by the Assiniboine River to the north and east, and Main Street to the south. Key features include:

- Buildings and Infrastructure:** Hudson's Bay House, CNR Station, Retail (4), Office Towers (5), Arena (1), Apartment Towers (3), Rise Housing (3), Office Towers (6), Great West Life Office Building (2), Hotel (3), and Federal Bldg. (5).
- Streets and Roads:** Main Street, York Avenue, St. Mary Avenue, Graham Avenue, Pioneer Avenue, Water Avenue, Treble Street, Koorbustan Avenue, and Provencher Street.
- Other Features:** CNR Main Line, Reddit Sub-Division, Red River, and a bridge over the river.
- Legend:** A circle with the number 4 indicates the stage number.

CONCEPTUAL PLAN OF REDEVELOPMENT

SCALE: 1" = 330' ±
FEBRUARY 1978
W. L. WARDROP & ASSOCIATES LTD.

④ STAGE NUMBER

This concept incorporated extensions to Assiniboine, York and St. Mary Avenues (connecting with the Provencher Boulevard Bridge) which had long been part of the City's long-range transportation plans. In addition, several feeder roads would serve as local distributors for the site. The complaint about traffic generation in the previous proposal, "Opportunities for Redevelopment," would possibly be alleviated by this improved vehicular circulation scheme.

In discussing the merits and deficiencies of this proposal, of prime positive significance was the penetration by arterial roadway extensions. This would remove the isolation of physical remoteness caused by the physical barriers. In terms of the development mix, a welcome attraction would be the housing component, something presently lacking within the downtown area. It is a positive feature to see a large amount of office space to be allocated to this area, but perhaps more than the prevailing absorption rate would dictate. Negative features could possibly be the retail and hotel components, as objections could be anticipated from the Downtown Winnipeg Plan proponents. A unique but troublesome feature in this concept was an arena. This may be seen as of dubious propriety as it would have added unwelcome competition to the existing arena on the west side of the city. It is doubtful whether enough demand for two major arenas exists in this city. A glaring omission is that no specific provision for parkland appears to have been included - something which would be an obvious and inestimable asset to this scenic site.

What is most notable about his proposal is its inordinate massiveness and unyielding emphasis on the profit motive as "be-all/end-all." The scale and density of development (if the entire plan were to be realized) are such as to beget a slice of midtown Manhattan adjacent to (and likely, a drain up on) Winnipeg's existing (and less intensively built-up) central business district. Furthermore, with the subsequent decision to expand and modernize the 1950s era civic indoor sports arena at Polo Park, the project lost the only hypothetical public-space ingredient it contained.

In summary, the Oxford conceptual plan was correctly perceived (and, dismissed) as a developer's unenlightened, "public-be-damned" sales job. In

return for the staggering investment in expanded municipal infrastructure required to see the project go forward, the taxpayer would have been granted an endowment of scant public-oriented output.

5.4 Lakeview ("Riverside Park" Development - 1979)

The third major development proposal was tendered in 1979. The parties in this scheme were Lakeview Properties Ltd., a private developer, and East Yard Development Ltd. This proposal was based on undertakings obligating the City of Winnipeg and the C.N.R. The City would have to build roadway extensions to St. Mary and York Avenues to connect with the Provencher Bridge; the C.N.R. would have to lease 135,000 square feet of a 225,000 square foot office building.

Much like the East Yard Study Group proposal, this concept embodied a mixed-used development (see Exhibit D). The components would entail an office complex of 625,000 square feet; retail space of 79,000 square feet; a residential component of 930 units; a four storey parking garage; and recreational facilities. Insofar as the major emphasis of this proposal was a "riverside park" theme, a marina and boat docks would serve the cluster of three restaurants and the housing units of rental apartments and condominiums. This was to have followed a staggered timetable - construction beginning in 1980 and to be completed by 1987.

In terms of this concept, several sought-after features appeared to be missing or could be a cause of some conflict. There was, for example, no specific mention of a public park, although the report indicated that the developers were prepared to negotiate with the various governments on this matter. Also, no specific proposal for the integration of Union Station was explicitly defined. Being that the area immediately surrounding The Forks may be of historical significance, the location of the condominiums on this site may pre-empt an archaeological dig. The developer's suggested relocation of the condominiums would occur, if historical artifact recovery by Parks Canada is successful. In order to free up sufficient land and access routes for the proposed restaurants on the south side of the Assiniboine River, it would be

necessary to remove the Curling Club and other structures. While it was heartening that a local firm was prepared to buy the East Yards railway lands outright - and, to develop them using its own, private funding sources - the Lakeview plan was simply too low-key and commonplace to be allowed to lay claim to such highly-prized, strategic, and historical lands. Detailed inspection reveals it to be little more than a standard, low-to-medium density suburban subdivision scheme - transplanted to the doorstep, of downtown. It has no unusual design flourishes, and offers only minimal avenues for public access. The park area appears to be confined to a narrow strip along the riverbank - with both flanks of "The Forks" reserved for private use. It makes little attempt to integrate distinguished buildings already present (e.g., Union Station) - or to tie in with adjoining land uses. As might have been expected, it was not deemed worthy of serious consideration by the local authorities to whom it was previewed.

* * *

All the major proposals submitted by developers for the East Yard redevelopment suggested a residential and office component. Although these proposals were submitted considering potential profit, some of the economic driving forces in the 1970s have changed direction in the 1980s, to the detriment of their prospects for success. For example, the current supply of existing office space will cover at least a four year demand. By contrast, the low vacancy rate for apartments may dictate that housing assume a larger role than the office component. However, the most severe complicating factor, as indicated earlier, is submitting a proposal which would achieve unanimous agreement among three decision-making bodies.

6.0 THE POLITICAL AND JURISDICTIONAL BACKDROP

The present situation with regard to deliberations and negotiations over the disposition of the East Yards site can best be characterized as an impasse composed of equal measures of indifference and intransigence. The impasse is the essential result of a protracted territorial and jurisdictional squabble

embroiling no less than three levels of government (both at a political and bureaucratic level); three semi-autonomous authorities and agencies created by the various governments; and one powerful and high-profile Crown corporation. In order to aid the reader in assimilating the breadth of the issues involved, the authors of this paper have prepared a reference chart, Table 2, summarizing key areas of concern for all of the first-hand participants in the East Yards debate. In the sections which follow, we will attempt to point the way to a means of breaking the current deadlock by:

- 1) outlining the bargaining stances and stakes of the affected parties;
- 2) enumerating areas of apparent disagreement;
- 3) enumerating areas of potential consensus; and,
- 4) detailing some possible scenarios for proceeding to the "action" stage (and their likely consequences).

6.1 The Actors and Their Roles

[Note: The authors wish to emphasize that in the segment which follows, at no point have they presumed to pass judgment on the respective merits of the arguments presented to them by the parties interviewed. Rather, they have passed along these arguments - subject to the limitations of their own understanding of them - as undistortedly as possible. It will be left to the reader to draw their own inferences about and arrive at their own assessments of, the validity of the positions reported herein.]

1) The City of Winnipeg

Negotiations with civic authorities over the future of the C.N. East Yards began in 1967/68 - concurrent with land exchange transactions leading to the construction of the Pembina-Jubilee traffic interchange and the Fort Rouge Transit Operations Base. At that time, C.N. agreed that the Yard property was surplus to its own operational needs and would be developed "whenever the time was ripe." A joint understanding was reached whereby certain East Yards parcels would be turned over to the city (at nominal cost) chiefly for the installation of roadways and other public works infrastructure; C.N. in turn, would arrange for and sponsor development.

TABLE 2

EAST YARDS SITE DEVELOPMENT: THE ACTORS AND THEIR ROLES

Parties to Negotiations	Ostensible Interest	Bargaining Stance
1. City of Winnipeg	-Downtown revitalization -Additional jobs and assessment -Civic showpiece -Protection of "home rule" fiscal integrity	-Would like to see C.N. and/or federal govt. persuaded to donate lands -Would underwrite and install public infrastructure in return
2. Provincial (Manitoba) Dept. of Urban Affairs	-Orderly urban development -Upgrading of public transit network -Increased public transit usage -Increased tourism, jobs, tax revenues generated	-Arbitrator in dispute between City and C.N. -Proposals must be suitably prestigious for site in order to gain provincial approval -Doubt whether City or Province have power to expropriate C.N.; would prefer to see negotiated "buy-out"
3. Federal Transport Ministry	-Fostering of balanced regional transport network -Protection of autonomy and fiscal integrity of Crown Corp. (C.N.) -Strengthening regional economic base through promoting manufacture of advanced transport technology	-City's insistence on outright land grant is jeopardizing ARC contribution -C.N. should be full partner in development process -Monies for S.W. Transit Corridor and Intermodal (bus) terminal to be made available under recent "Memorandum of Understanding on Transport"

TABLE 2 CONTINUED

EAST YARDS SITE DEVELOPMENT: THE ACTORS AND THEIR ROLES

Parties to Negotiations	Ostensible Interest	Bargaining Stance
4. Canadian National Railways	-Non-surrender of potentially lucrative development tract -Cementing viability of C.N.'s newly established realty arm.	-Mutual understanding must be achieved before "go-ahead" given on development -Will allot 40 acres of site for public allot use areas (of which 10 will be donated by corporation and remainder must be acquired by public bodies at "market price") -Will strike consortium with private interests to develop bulk of site -Prefer leasing of "private land to its outright sale
5. Canada/Manitoba ARC	-Enhancing recreation opportunities through improved public access to -Beautification of riverbank through installation of landscaped park and promenade -Stimulation of interest in Red River Valley as tourist destination	-Quick action imperative due to pending program expiry in March 1985 -Riverbank "ribbon park" installation can proceed prior to resolution of ownership issue and revelation of detailed site plan contents for remainder of Yards parcel

TABLE 2 CONTINUED

EAST YARDS SITE DEVELOPMENT: THE ACTORS AND THEIR ROLES

Parties to Negotiations	Ostensible Interest	Bargaining Stance
6. Parks Canada	-Excavating, preserving, and displaying valuable artifacts thought to be on grounds -Acquiring and refurbishing site of national historic importance -Strengthening Canadian unity through establishment of urban-based, national "landmark (historic) park"	-Ownership wrangle is preventing Parks Canada from determining what specific activities it can stage on site -Visitorship on par with Quebec fortifications and Halifax Citadel (500,000+ persons per annum) can be anticipated
7. Core Area Initiative	-Revitalization of central business district and inner-city residential neighbourhoods -Betterment of Winnipeg's public image -Development of East Yards as "key site" in civic renaissance	-Continued funding of land acquisition -Consolidation of land holding in hands of public and "quasi-public" authorities -Interim use as "passive park" while re-development efforts are focused on North of Portage target area

Two highly-publicized and intensive private proposals subsequently emerged: those entailing partnerships between the Railway and Great West Life Assurance (1974) and Oxford Development Group (1978). While approving of the details of these plans, the City harboured some fears that office and retail-oriented proposals of the size envisioned would drain off investment in the reviving "South of Portage" area of the existing central business district.

Both development offers ultimately were withdrawn. The civic administration blames this failure in part on the national economic down-turn of the latter half of the 1970s (which hit Winnipeg's business community especially hard, causing the backers to develop fatal doubts about the wisdom of proceeding with such an ambitious project at that time); and in part by the steadfast refusal of the then-Minister of Urban Affairs (and his successors) to sanction the enabling amendment to the existing development plan by-law (currently showing the site retained as a railroad marshalling yard and transfer facility) advanced by the City to permit the aforementioned redevelopment proposals to legally proceed. This latter move is alleged by the City to be a ploy aimed at pressuring C.N. into donating the Yards site into the public domain. The City contends that Ministerial approval of Plan Winnipeg (which has re-zoned the Yards as non-industrial land slated for uses compatible with the character of adjacent areas of downtown) will remove any further legislative obstacles to prompt development.

One of the reasons the City remains confident it can press for a substantial donation of Yard lands to the public is its belief that C.N. is grossly overstating the value of the tract in its current underdeveloped state. Moreover, whatever attractiveness the land ultimately possesses for intensive development will depend chiefly upon the amount and types of public infrastructure which the City undertakes to install. In buttressing its claim to a significant chunk of railway land, it points to precedents recently established in Toronto, and Vancouver. It further asserts that since C.N. is a state-owned and operated enterprise, why ought the public be compelled to purchase (from itself) that which it already effectively owns? As a corollary of this, because of the City's limited financial resources, if any publicly-orchestrated bid to purchase and oversee the development of the site is

mounted, it will necessarily require that the Provincial and Federal governments become its chief bankrollers.

Lastly (and perhaps most importantly), there is a considered insistence that whatever renewal take place be of top-notch design quality. It is intended that the area become a showcase of Winnipeg's civic finery and progressive spirit to visitors and commentators "the world over."

2) Province of Manitoba - Department of Urban Affairs

The Province (as represented by its Ministry of Urban Affairs) sees the City of Winnipeg and C.N. as the principal parties standing to be directly affected by the outcome of whatever decision is taken in the East Yards Redevelopment affair. Accordingly, it views its proper stance as playing a mediating role between the latter two. Its intent has been (and it believes its handling of the case to date to have been consistent with this intent) to act as arbiter and overseer, promoting generally-acknowledged precepts of "sound, balanced planning" in its rulings upon the development proposals which have been placed before it. It contends it has withheld sanction (of the change in the Yards' "development plan by-law" designation requested by the City) because of the City's failure to attach any unified conceptual plan detailing its intentions regarding what it considers as appropriate to the site's eventual, full-fledged exploitation. Whatever the proposal, in order to gain Provincial acceptance, it must be found to be suitably prestigious to grace a site of such immense historic and strategic significance.

Much to the detriment of the success of the enterprise, the Province feels the main combatants - the City and C.N. - to be involved in an excessive and tiresome amount of self-serving public posturing. It further reads C.N.'s action and declarations as evincing determination to hold the Yard lands off the market until such time as some speculative, future "land boom" allows it to fetch an inflated return on its property.

Both for these reasons - and because a high public works investment will be required to render the site viable for occupancy - the Province leans toward divestiture. It doubts, however, whether either itself or the City

possess legal authority to expropriate a Crown tenant chartered by the Federal government. Accordingly, if development of the Yards is to proceed any time soon, it reasons that a negotiated, "realistically-priced" public buy-off offers the best hope of that happening.

3. Federal Ministry of Transport

The Federal Ministry of Transport owes its involvement in the disposition of the East Yards site to its nominal guardianship over the affairs of the Canadian National Railways - its Crown offshoot. It chides the City of Winnipeg for being, in its view, the chief stumbling block to progress on the issue, in its unbending insistence that the Federal cabinet should coerce C.N. into donating the lands in question into the public realm. Ministerial staff believes such intervention to be unwarranted. C.N.'s fiscal integrity and managerial independence would be severely compromised by a seizure. Furthermore, C.N. retains an ongoing interest in seeing the site thrown open to development "when the right offer comes along." Hence, it should be a full partner in the development process.

The City's intransigence on ownership, it is further charged, is having one particularly relevant damaging effect on the tract's future as a public asset: namely, holding up the signing of a land-transfer pact permitting the immediate installation of a ten-acre strip of riverbank parkland stretching from Provencher Bridge to an area just north of "The Forks" (i.e., the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers).

The governments of Canada and Manitoba recently initialled a joint "Memorandum of Understanding on Transportation and Urban Bus Industrial Development" (released December 8, 1983). In accordance with the terms of this agreement, moves are afoot aimed at making Union Station and environs the public transport hub of the Province. Components might include an all-new, intercity bus terminal (relocated from its present premises on Balmoral), a revamped Union Station (with VIA Rail as its prime tenant), the northern terminus of the long-sought Southwest Transit Corridor (first proposed in 1974), and a new hotel to capture the expected increase in commuter trade on the site.

The rationale underpinning this initiative stresses that the transportation sector has always played a catalytic role in dictating the shape of the Manitoba economy. The Province possesses a considerable existing capacity to manufacture urban transit buses. Under the aegis of "new technology" and job creation, the construction of the Southwest Transit Corridor can be boosted through an infusion of regional economic expansion funds - predicated upon harnessing it to demonstrate the "seaworthiness" of advanced bus prototypes aimed at the export market (e.g., trolley-bus, fly-wheel, and storage-battery vehicles). In this sense, the emplacement of a substantial measure of transport-related "research and development" infrastructure on the East Yard site is expected to lend a key impetus to its development.

4. Canadian National Railways

Canadian National Railways strenuously disputes the widely propagated public supposition that the property on which it has long operated its downtown passenger terminal, freight handling facilities, and marshalling yard was somehow donated into its care via a gifting of public lands. In fact, its privately-operated predecessor - The Canadian Northern - acquired said lands in a cash transaction with the original corporate owner/occupant (Hudson's Bay Company). Whether or not that transaction and the subsequent transformation of the site into a railway storage depot, served to sever Winnipeg from the "cradle of its birth" is, by now, immaterial. The railway considers that its presence on that site has, over the years, caused great financial benefit to be conferred on the host city.

Now that the yard facility has outlived its usefulness in occupying the historic lands at "The Forks," C.N. stands quite prepared to make available a sizable proportion of its property tabbed crucial for the fitting public commemoration of the timely events which transpired thereupon. The corporation is willing to donate some 10 acres of riverbank frontage into public control; an additional 30 such acres will be made available subject to the acquisition of the latter by public bodies at "prevailing market prices for prime downtown land."

As for the remainder, C.N. desires simply to exercise its ownership prerogatives, specifically: to strike up a consortium with private bidders to engage in its development "when the market is ripe." As proof of "good faith" in its continuing interest in seeing East Yards redevelopment proceed, C.N. offers the accumulated evidence of its having (on three separate occasions between 1974 and the present) in the recent past entertained or subscribed in schemes launched by private development firms.

Insofar as real property transactions are concerned, C.N. prefers to avoid either becoming actively involved in the construction business or disposing outright of its land. As has been its practice in previous instances where it threw open its urban railyard holdings to redevelopment (e.g., Saskatoon and Montreal), land will likely be offered to prospective occupants on a long-term, leasehold basis.

Lastly, as a prior condition for the corporations's approval of any far-ranging, publicly-spawned conceptual plan outlining, in detailed fashion, what amounts and types of activities are to ultimately be put in place on the East Yards site), a mutual understanding - acknowledging the ground rules for development laid down in the preceding paragraphs - must first be reached between C.N. and the municipal administration of the City of Winnipeg.

5) Canada/Manitoba "Agreement on Recreation and Conservation"

The "ARC" program was launched by the Federal government in 1973 with the overriding goal of redefining Parks Canada's traditional "wilderness park" mandate to enable it to bring enhanced outdoor recreational opportunities to urban residents "in their own backyard." Provinces and territories were given responsibility to nominate and manage the areas to be included. To be eligible for funding under ARC, areas nominated were required to satisfy the following criteria:

- each having heritage resources of national significance;
- a potential for recreational development to complement the conservation initiatives;
- of special significance,⁹ they had to be easily accessible from urban population centres.

The Red River Corridor was thought to be a prime candidate for acceptance. In 1978, it was officially designated for inclusion in the program - signified by the initialling of an "ARC" agreement between the governments of Canada and Manitoba to provide joint funding for the undertaking.

In the master development plan for the Red River Corridor, which followed in September, 1981, a major park facility centred around "The Forks" at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was made the linchpin of the entire project (see Exhibit E). Occupying some 35 acres of the present C.N. East Yards and costing some \$3,642,000 to install, it would feature a visitor/interpretative centre, riverbank strip park and promenade, pedestrian link to downtown via Union Station, displays pinpointing the locations of historic forts, observation overlook at Point Fort Rouge, and the conversion of an existing railroad bridge spanning the Assiniboine River at its mouth to pedestrian use. Unfortunately, the ARC program presently finds itself held hostage to the acrimonious "war of words" being waged between C.N. and the City of Winnipeg over who is entitled to "call the shots" on the ultimate form East Yard redevelopment takes. It is anxious to take advantage of C.N.'s proffered 10-acre gift in order to "get a foot in the door." The aforesaid parcel can be combined with 3.3 adjacent acres acquired with Core Area Initiative funds (the former Genstar concrete batching plant) upon the giving of a "green light" by C.N. It would likely host the visitor/interpretative centre (along with a major public dock and/or marina).

ARC staffers take pains to point out that riverbank beautification will be an unqualified asset to whatever other development - public or private - takes place on the bulk of the site. In view of this, they cannot imagine why there should be an impediment thrown up and to swiftly proceed with the installation of at least the 13.3 acres of park cited previously. With the expiry of the agreement imminent (March 1985), they warn that further procrastination may well result in the loss of ARC's funding contribution toward "The Forks Riverbank Park and Visitor Interpretative Centre."

EXHIBIT E

ARC, "The Forks" Riverbank Park and Interpretative Centre (1978)

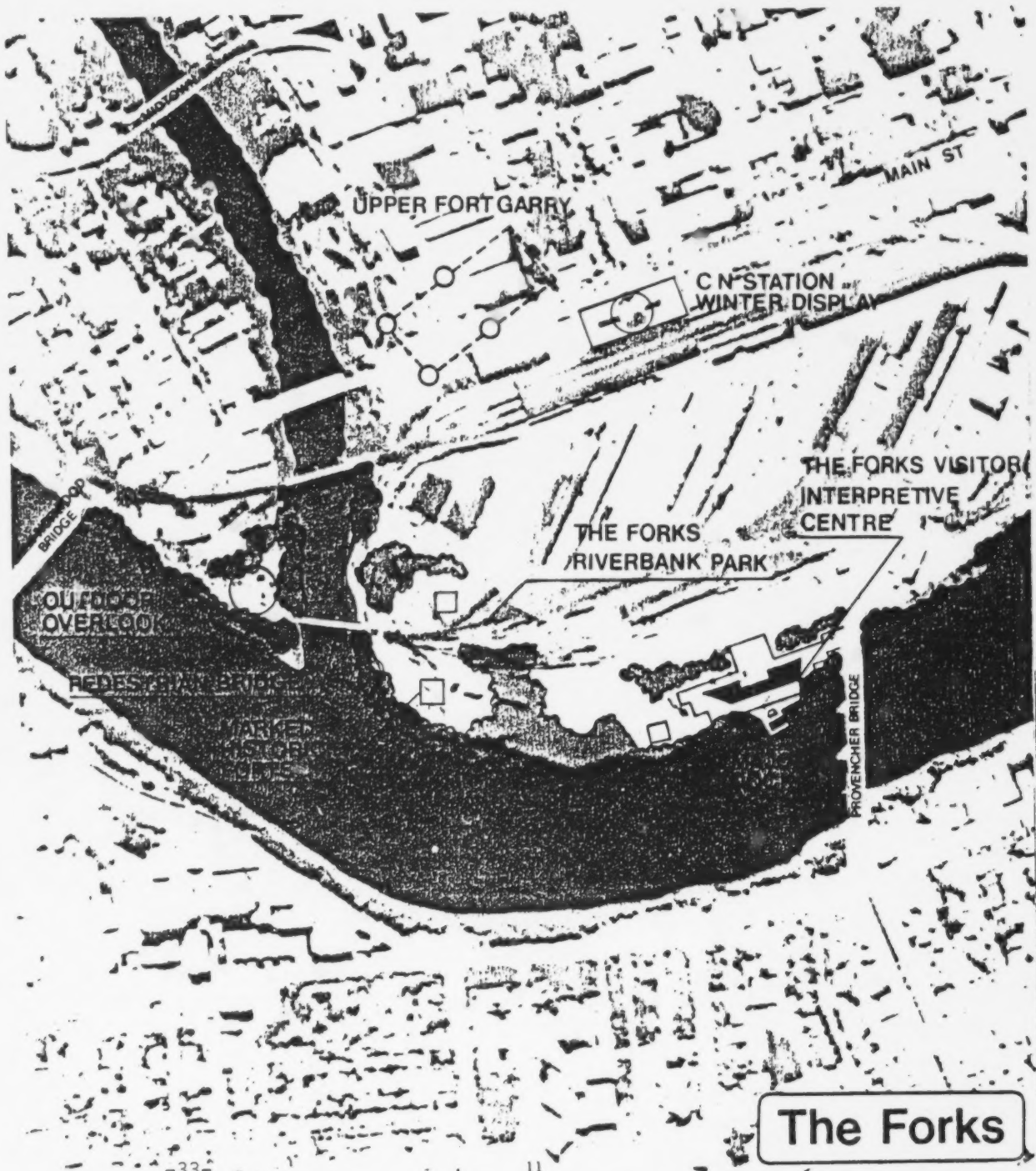
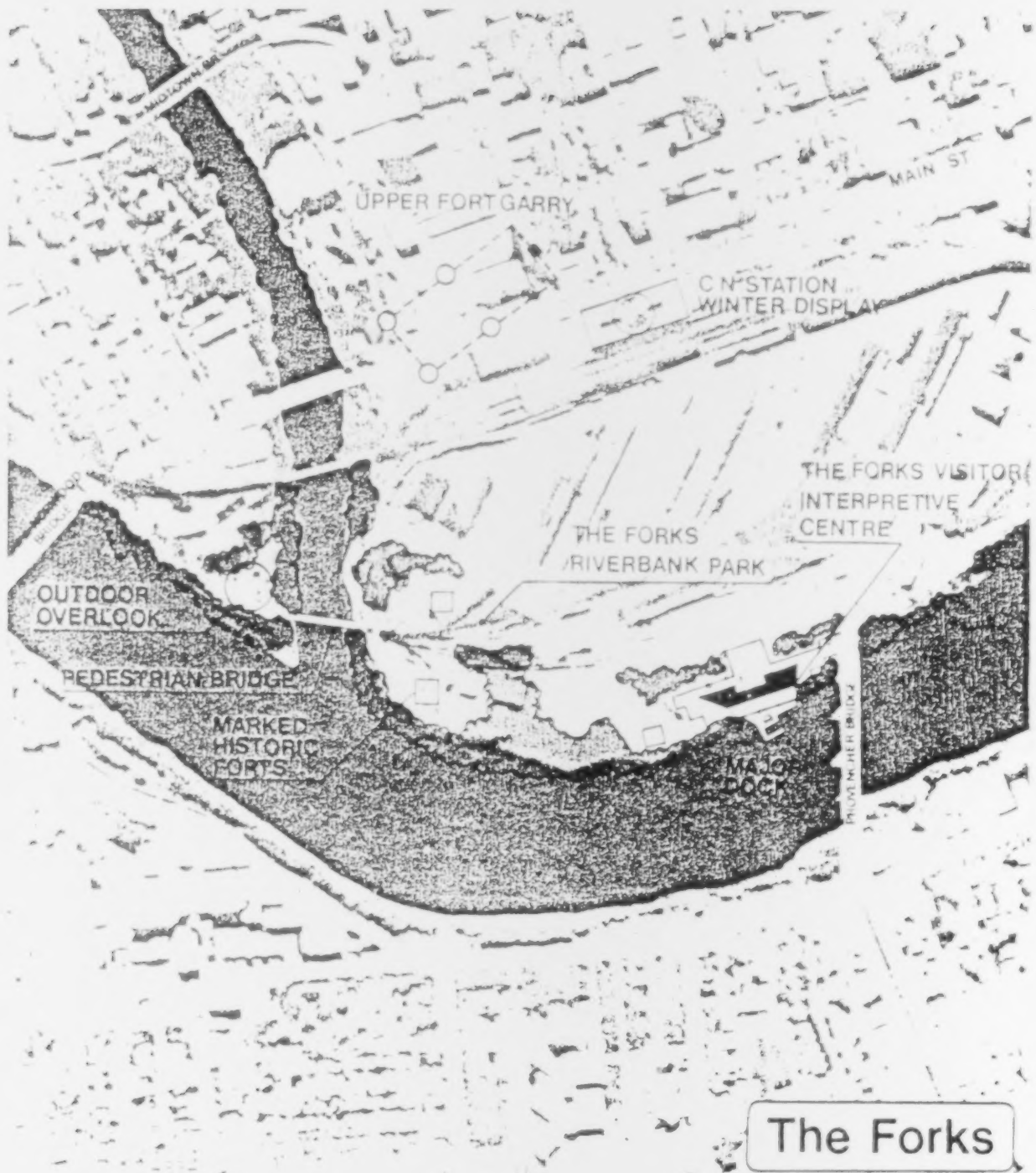


EXHIBIT E

ARC, "The Forks" Riverbank Park and Interpretative Centre (1978)



6) Parks Canada

Once completed, the historic and interpretative aspects of ARC's legacy will be turned over to the custodianship of Parks Canada. The establishment of such an urban-based, national "landmark park" will fill a considerable gap in the latter agency's holdings: no facility of such character presently is operated by it in its Prairie Region (nor is there any more illustrious candidate). In addition to thereby strengthening Canadian unity and promoting awareness of Manitoba's cultural heritage, Parks Canada planners predict heady tourist spin-offs for Province and City: visitorship on a par with that recorded at the fortifications at Quebec City and Halifax Citadel (500,000+ persons per annum) can be anticipated.

A considerable quantity of valuable artifacts are thought by archivists to be buried on the East Yards site. As operator-designee, Parks Canada is to be encharged with unearthing, and displaying these artifacts. Therefore, it is a matter of sheer frustration to its archaeological staff that, to date (due apparently to the internal politics of the ongoing ownership wrangle), they have only been permitted to make cursory inspection of the areas in which the greatest concentrations of artifacts are likely to be found. Until thorough exploration can be carried out, they cannot determine (with reasonable certainty) what activities on-site archaeological resources can sustain.

7) Core Area Initiative

Since its inception, the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Program has pegged the East Yards as a "key site" in downtown revitalization. Having, however, gained with experience in the field, a better grasp of present development possibilities in Winnipeg, the Core Area Initiative (CAI) has come to realize that there is "only so much development to be spread around." Consequently, it is now prioritizing the major thrust of its activities and expenditures for the "North of Portage" target area.

Having (for entirely pragmatic reasons) thus relegated East Yards to the "future options" category, CAI is nonetheless laying preparations for that date through extensive land assembly in the "northern triangle" of the site

(to the tune of \$3.5 million). An additional \$3.5 to \$3.9 million has been set aside for negotiations with C.N. (chiefly land deals). The object of Core's land acquisition program is to simplify the bargaining process through consolidation of all land holdings in the hands of two or three public and "quasi-public" owners. This objective has been rendered particularly critical because of C.N.'s steadfast reluctance to entertain piecemeal proposals.

Core Area planners ultimately envision a blend of housing and open space (both park and institutional) on the site. The end result might be a new "neighbourhood" located next door to, and drawing on, downtown. If vacated by C.N. the tract could see interim use as a "passive park" while redevelopment efforts are focussed on existing, built-up areas of the downtown core.

[UPDATE:

In May of 1984 the logjam over public access to, and ownership of, the East Yards railway lands was somewhat broken by C.N.'s agreement to release a thirteen-acre strip of riverfront (extending from a point just south of Provencher Bridge to the junction of the two rivers) into the custody of the Federal and Provincial governments. In return for this grant, both parties have assented to C.N.'s participation in the planned redevelopment of the bulk of the Yard site "if and when it occurs."¹⁰

As operator-designee of the national historic park proposed for the Forks and environs, upon confirmation of the deal Parks Canada immediately launched exploratory digs - targeting the suspected locations of Forts Gibraltar I and II, plus the now-defunct Northern Pacific & Manitoba locomotive roundhouse. Significant remnants of all three landmarks were uncovered.

While Parks Canada desires to undertake similar archaeological work elsewhere within the East Yards, it neither intends (nor desires) to turn over "every square inch" of earth. Rather, only specific plots believed to have supported other historically noteworthy structures will be extensively combed through. It is felt that the most reliable means of protecting conjectural buried artifacts is ordinarily to disturb them as little as possible (by leaving them intact, in situ). Accordingly, any additional excavation and/or

recovery efforts will only be pursued in conjunction with the initiation of new construction on the site.

By mid-1986, Parks Canada expects to release a conceptual plan for the improvement of the thirteen acres it now controls. However, certain interpretative exhibits and activities might well be quartered in display space reserved within a cultural and market complex presently being touted by provincial tourism and federal industrial development authorities for areas adjacent to the proposed park on its inland side (rather than necessitating a free-standing museum for the purpose). Parks Canada is striving to co-operate with the various interested parties in the design of such facilities - both in order that duplication be avoided, and in hopes of insuring that whatever related attractions are devised complement, to the fullest extent possible, the commemorative and leisure themes slated for the "Forks National Historic Site."

In October of 1985, the ministerial directives authorizing the "Canada/Manitoba ARC Agreement" were extended through March of 1988. Additional funding (to the tune of \$4.1 million) was also provided. The intention of this renewed mandate was not the pursuit by ARC of new commitments; rather, it was meant to foster the completion of programs and projects inaugurated by ARC during its previous seven-year term (with the "Forks" project at the top of the list).]

6.2 Areas of Apparent Disagreement

Outstanding differences among the affected parties all revolve around the implementation issue. The persistence of difficulties in clearing the way for the latter has stemmed from agitation over: land ownership; who shall direct development efforts; funding; and timing.

Quite obviously, all of the foregoing factors are heavily intertwined. So long as C.N. is the undisputed owner, the City cannot compel it to place certain features which it deems desirable on the East Yards site. By the same token, the City, through its regulation of land use, can thwart C.N. from

imposing its unadulterated entrepreneurial version of "ideal" development thereupon. The City, however, appears to hold the more powerful trump card. It can assert its will in the matter, to the degree that it can prevent C.N. from exercising its internally-set development aims. C.N. can only counter such pressure by holding the land in its present, underutilized state in perpetuity; or by launching a lengthy and time-consuming court battle.

In theory, the ownership melee presumably could be resolved were the City to freely purchase the land in question from its owner; arriving at an amicably agreed upon purchase price (i.e., "adequate compensation") has been the problem. The City believes the land's current market value to be at the low end of the scale (reflecting its underused and unimproved state); C.N. - believing the site to be ultimately capable of sustaining a full range of high-density, high-rent central business district uses - believes it should fetch a premium price (commensurate with its proximity to the "peak land-value intersection" at Portage and Main Streets). Whether some "saw-off" between the two extremes would magically produce the desired settlement is a matter of pure conjecture.

Ironically, should East Yards redevelopment (ever) go for forward, C.N. and the City of Winnipeg stand to become its major beneficiaries. (Perhaps this accounts for their skittishness; both have the most riding on the scheme - in terms of money and esteem gained or foregone). In marked contrast to this prognosis, both are treading softly where "putting up the dough" is concerned. The City never loses an opportunity to bemoan its undernourished fiscal base - exhorting its more powerful and affluent senior governing counterparts to lend generous assistance in such a worthy and potentially remunerative civic endeavour. C.N. - in its turn - knows full well how vital taxpayer-underwritten improvements (i.e., boulevards, transit, utilities, "green space," and assorted public attractions) will be to its aspirations (read: "profit picture") for the site.

Lastly, both sides undoubtedly are aware that present market conditions in Winnipeg, left to their own distractions, presage no miraculous upsurge of investor interests in the East Yards parcel. Furthermore, there is great

competition underway elsewhere in downtown for a limited pool of investor dollars. C.N., much as it might like to see its derelict property "built up" soon, can well afford to "sit tight;" the annual carrying charges on virtually vacant land are not especially burdensome. Judicious public expenditure directed toward the site, however, could alter this picture overnight. Senior governments - cognizant of this device (and the demands to deploy it) - will be carefully handicapping the gains in political clout to be reaped from such intervention before springing for their chequebooks.

6.3 Areas of Potential Consensus

In marked contrast to the antagonisms generated over ownership-related issues, there has evolved over the years, an extraordinarily wide-ranging degree of unanimity among those interviewed as to the type of design precepts which ought to be incorporated into the "official" conceptual plan setting the tone for East Yards redevelopment. Whatever minor points of disagreement were raised had simply to do with adjustments in the amounts and arrangement of the activities to be housed on the site.

Over and above the shuffling of the site's design "furniture," there seemed to be emerging a set of common themes that were felt should animate its rejuvenation:

- 1) that it become a multiple-use, public use showcase - in order to commemorate the area's singular historical importance, and to take advantage of the river vistas which it commands;
- 2) that it not become an easterly extension of the business district - which is already "spread too thin" for the amount and overall density of activity it is called upon to support;
- 3) that it complement the existing downtown - so as not to imperil the incipient revival underway, thereby "pirating" away limited investment funds; and,
- 4) that there be a heavy infusion of public investment - (chiefly in the form of cultural and recreational amenities) - which will be "just the right tonic" needed to spark early and widespread private-sector interest.

Setting aside (until the following chapter) the largely favourable and enthusiastic reactions of those interviewed to the particulars of our own conceptual blueprint for the transformation of the East Yards, when queried as

to what sorts of activities they felt appropriate to the site, a number of features recurred in the respondents' suggestions:

- 1) a heavy contingent of parks and open space (as enshrined in the ARC contribution detailed earlier);
- 2) relocation of the intercity bus terminal from its present site on Balmoral Avenue to the vicinity of Union Station (so as to interface with the proposed Southwest Rapid Transit Corridor, Winnipeg Transit bus routes, and VIA Rail interprovincial passenger traffic);
- 3) establishment of an academic and/or "research and development" campus (particularly for the study of urban development, ethnic culture, and the design and perfection of innovative transport technology);
- 4) a heavy component of well-mixed residential activity (i.e., a "dormitory community" servicing, and drawing upon its proximity to, downtown; also making obvious use of scenic amenities as a "selling point" to prospective residents);
- 5) reservation of land for a future stadium and/or arena complex (to provide a more central and accessible location for sporting and other public events, attract additional professional sport franchises to Winnipeg, and boost general interest in downtown "after hours" activity);
- 6) tentative or permanent site for the re-establishment of an "all-weather," year-round farmer's market (ideally so because of the ready availability of land for on-site parking);
- 7) construction of a multicultural display hall (possibly affiliated with "Folklorama," and hosting or being a prime sponsor of an "institute of multicultural studies"); and,
- 8) setting up of a museum of Western Canadian railroading (for reasons which are readily evident; might also serve as a base of operations for running of antique excursion trains during the fair-weather months).

In formulating our study team's own upcoming proposals, we have been mindful throughout of "cues" gleaned from the foregoing list.

6.4 Ways and Means of Breaking the Deadlock

It would seem patently obvious at this point that some resolution of the outstanding issues blocking the transformation of the East Yards into a productive venue necessarily hinges upon two hypothetical courses of action: either dislodging one of the two main combatants (C.N., or the City of Winnipeg); or bringing them together under the umbrella of some compromise agreement.

Within these two frameworks of action, four scenarios for breaking the current deadlock on the development of the site can be extracted. As was done at the head of this chapter, a table has been supplied itemizing each scenario (and its likely consequences) for the benefit of the reader.

Scenario 1: Status Quo (i.e., non-intervention) - C.N., the land's current owner, appears to us to view the "highest and best" use of the tract as retail, and high-rise office and residential development comparable to that occurring in Winnipeg's existing central business district. The current oversupply of office space mitigates against market conditions warranting any such product being brought "on stream" for at least five to ten years. The current rental apartment vacancy rate in Winnipeg, however, is virtually zero - therefore appearing to bode well for an immediate start-up to residential construction on the Yards Site (particularly in view of the scenic vistas such apartments would enjoy). Any preponderance of high-rise (as contemplated by C.N.), however, while likely to fetch "top-drawer" rents, would tend to "wall off" the riverfront to ready access by the general public. Additionally, only a narrow ribbon of land along the Red River shoreline would be initially released for use as a public park. Clearly, the public interest would be the major loser under any "do-nothing" approach. C.N. would also find itself a short-term loser - in that private investments that might be lured onto the site through the emplacement of a high quantity and character of public attractions would be forestalled by the foreclosure of the foregoing.

Scenario 2: Divestiture (via expropriation or Federal land grant) - The expropriation by junior governments of an arm of the Federal presence is of dubious legal propriety. Any such gambit would likely engender a costly and protracted legal brawl - plus casting a pall of distrust over future relations between the three levels of government locally. The idea of the Federal cabinet inducing its ward - C.N. - to donate the land to the Winnipeg public as a lasting gesture of goodwill is inherently appealing (particularly because it is already publicly "owned" by virtue of its falling under the aegis of a Crown corporation). C.N.'s corporate ancestors did, however, come into the land by private acquisition from its original owner (Hudson's Bay Corporation). As well it has, in the recent past, repeatedly given evidence

(however faltering) of its intention to see the site upgraded. Whatever public applause was prompted by Federal actions to strip C.N. of its custodianship of the land (in order that a Federal "gift" could be conferred) would be more than counter-balanced by the partisan whirlwind which would ensue from predictable opposition charges of politically-motivated government meddling in the managerial autonomy and fiscal integrity of a Crown corporation. This tempest could, in due time, "blow over" - leaving the Federal government the beneficiary of a residuum of public gratitude (and C.N., "holding the bag").

Scenario 3: Negotiated "Buy-Out" - The City of Winnipeg and C.N. - where the issue of arriving at a "fair" sale price for East Yard land is concerned - presently occupy polar extremes of the bargaining spectrum. Assuming some agreement based upon a middle-ground "saw-off" on land prices could be effected, the City would stand to be a triple loser - in that it not only would have submitted to ransom demands on "public" land (and have shelled out a handsome premium to C.N. for acquiring land in an essentially run-down and underdeveloped state), but would also have shouldered the full burden of risks attendant upon the site's being successfully promoted as a development prospect. C.N. would also stand to lose face - in that (whatever profits it fetched from the land's sale to the City) it would have surrendered any claim to participating in the development process (and thereby acquiring credibility as a major actor in the realty field).

Scenario 4: Striking of a Joint Development Corporation - This expedient has been successfully deployed in "North of Portage" and elsewhere. Its object is to get the two main combatants (as well as the by-standing senior levels of government) "thinking on the same wave-length." By uniting all parties under common-front management, the issue of East Yards redevelopment can be effectively "de-politicized." Participants will come to recognize a mutual interest in seeing the matter proceed promptly and smoothly; all will share reasonably equally in the risks and incur reasonably equitably any benefits or losses. Most importantly, the hiring of a full-time staff dedicated to expediting the project (and the resultant aura of professionalism thereby acquired) cannot but help to improve its ultimate chances of success.

TABLE 3

SOME POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR RESOLVING THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES
THWARTING EAST YARDS DEVELOPMENT

Action Taken	Likely Ramifications
1. Status Quo (i.e., non-intervention)	- no redevelopment for 5-10 years; - greatly downscaled parkland component; - Main Street "strip" continues to be a problem area.
2. Divestiture (Via expropriation or Federal land grant)	-protracted legal battle; -quick start-up of park installation; -enhanced popularity for Federal government in Manitoba; -charges of politically-motivated meddling in the affairs of a Crown corporation.
3. Negotiated "Buy-Out"	-C.N. turns hefty speculative profit on unimproved land; -City accused of giving handout to wealthy corporation, caving into "blackmail;" -site opened up to public access.
4. Joint Development Corp.	-allows all parties to "save face," participate in and draw benefits from ultimate result; -although bannered, greeted with initial public skepticism; -"de-politicization" of East Yards renewal campaign; -hiring of full-time staff dedicated to expediting the project; resultant aura of professionalism.

Note: CAI = Winnipeg Core Area Initiative.

TABLE 3 CONTINUED

SOME POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR RESOLVING THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES
THWARTING EAST YARDS DEVELOPMENT

Winner(s)	Short Run		Long Run	
		Loser(s)	Winner(s)	Loser(s)
		- C.N. - City of Wpg. - ARC - CAI	- C.N.	- City of Wpg. - Parks Canada
- City of Wpg. - ARC		- Federal govt. - C.N.	- Parks Canada - CAI - Federal govt.	- Prov. of Manitoba - C.N.
- C.N. - ARC		- City of Wpg. - CAI	- City of Wpg. - Parks Canada	- C.N. - Prov. of Manitoba
- ARC - Federal govt.		- CAI	- City of Wpg. - C.N. - Prov. of Manitoba - CAI - Parks Canada	

7.0 PRESENTATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL PLAN

In arriving at the blend of land use categories and specific facilities contained in the site development plan about to be revealed, the study team concocted an amalgam composed roughly equally of three different inspirations: 1) recurring aspects of previous East Yards development schemes felt to have lasting merit; 2) the suggestions of knowledgeable authorities (both from the public and private domains) who have dealt with the issue in past; and 3) the authors' own imaginations and training. Our tentative proposals were screened throughout with City planning instructors and students and with the practicing bodies and individuals cited in the appendix of this text. It is our hope (and belief) that we have satisfied their exhortations to us to the fullest extent possible, in the crafting of the "finished product."

7.1 Philosophical Basis of the Plan

The particulars of the attached conceptual plan for the remaking of the Canadian National Railways East Yards site hinge on a credo composed of five philosophical precepts enunciated during the plan's preparation. The precepts are:

- 1) no "pure" market solution seems possible at this time - due to sluggish national economy and the current glut of office rental space in Winnipeg;
- 2) even were it possible, the market likely would not yield an optimal outcome - particularly in terms of the exclusion of parkland and cultural attractions in favour of uses fetching private profits;
- 3) there should be a heavy installation of public attractions - in order to render the site both a public asset and a glamorous development prospect;
- 4) whatever is done should reflect an attempt to construct "from the ground up" an organic, well-interrelated community - drawing on its proximity to downtown as a major selling point, and providing a range of opportunities complementing those already in place in the former; and,
- 5) building heights should be stepped downward moving toward the rivers - to preserve unique vistas for the general public by precluding the "walling off" of the riverfront by high-rise apartment and office towers. Would also have the effect of

sheltering lower-rise residential precincts from prevailing northwesterly and westerly winds which rake the site in the winter-time.

7.2 Description of Specific On-Site Activities

Here, revealed in no particular order of either importance or merit, are the details of the proposed conceptual plan (see Land Subdivision 5).

1) **Antique Trolley Shuttle:** This would supply not only a means of enhancing pedestrian access to the Yards area; it would also constitute a thematic link between all of the historic and cultural attractions of downtown Winnipeg.

The trolley line in question would be designed primarily to serve casual strollers and tourists (and thus, is not intended to compete with or supplant the "DASH" businessman and shopper bus special). Strollers could board outside of the Yard site, alight within it, and walk a segment of the riverbank promenade (later returning to their point of origin by trolley). At present and during the early phases of development of the site, the relative isolation of the extremities of the Yards would tend to discourage such persons from attempting the somewhat arduous and circuitous trek required. Later on (when sidewalks and two pedestrian malls have been installed), the presence of the trolley service will act to obviate the necessity for pedestrians wishing to visit areas along the riverbank to backtrack on foot (cutting down on travel time, as well, in the process). Tourists wishing to take in any or all of the points of interest enroute would be aided in doing so by having the trolley to conveniently ferry them from attraction to attraction. In addition, the antique streetcars used (and the unobstructed scenic panoramas obtained from them) would form a promotion in and of themselves.

The proposed streetcar line would make use almost entirely of existing, at-grade railway trackage and minor roadways. It would be built initially as a one-track loop with periodic turn-outs to enable cars traveling in opposite directions to pass each other on which up to three antique-style trolley cars (either custom-made "mock-ups" or vintage vehicles purchased from elsewhere)

LAND SUBDIVISION 5

**C.N. EAST YARDS , WINNIPEG
DEVELOPMENT PLAN****LEGEND**

ROADWAYS



HOUSING



OFFICE & RETAIL



PUBLIC WORKS



INSTITUTIONAL



PARK

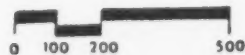


PEDESTRIAN ROUTE

LAND SUBDIVISION 5

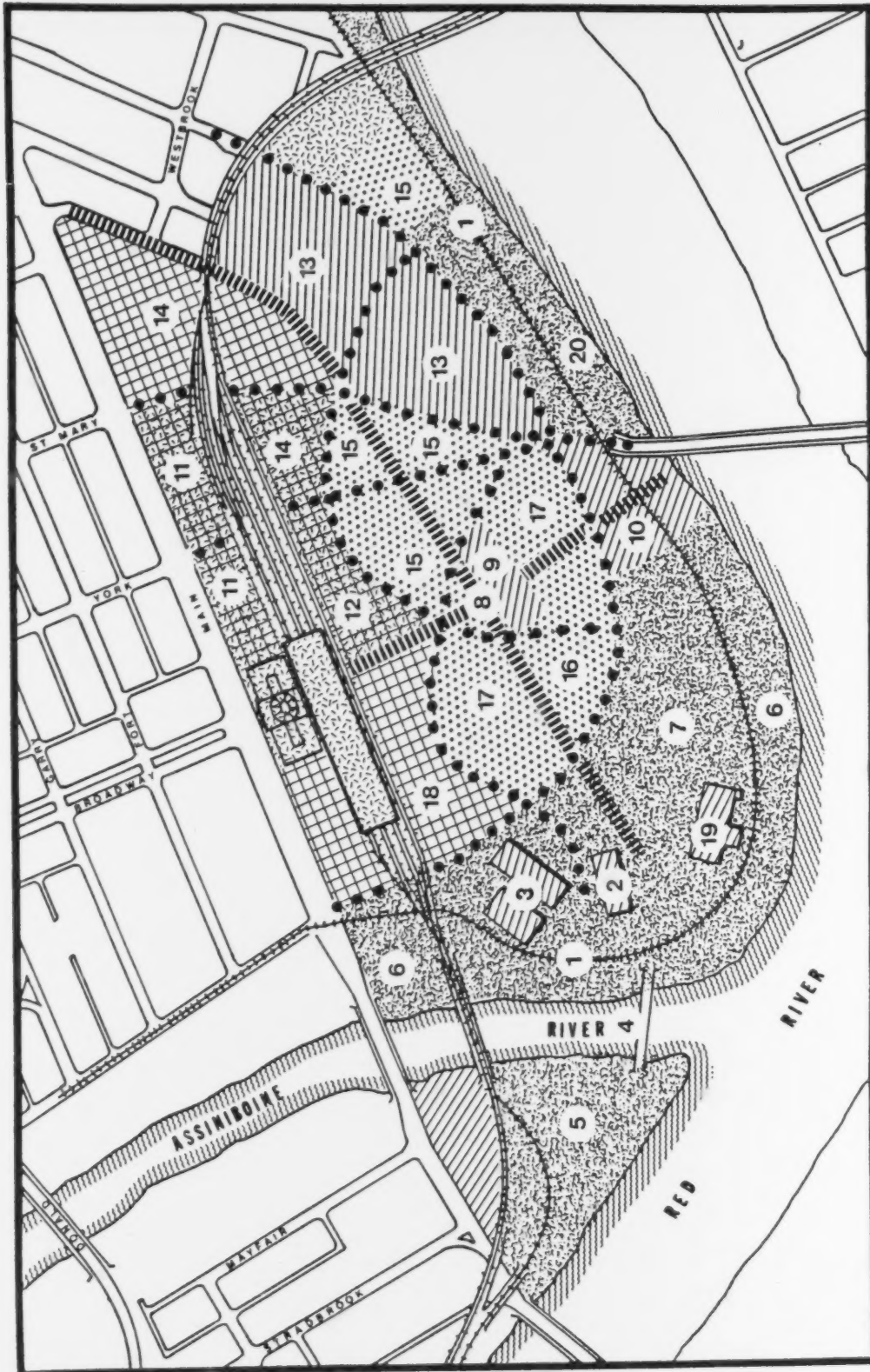
STUDY GROUP: AREMU S
BRUNDRIGE R.
LOWE J.
ZIOTAS I.

FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE
CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT



APRIL 1984

MAP 5
LAND SUBDIVISION



KEY SUPPLEMENT TO LAND SUBDIVISION 5

Number	Facility
1.	Antique Trolley Shuttle
2.	"All-Weather" Farmers' Market
3.	Museum of Western Canadian Railroading
4.	"Tension Bridge"
5.	"Crystal Pavilion"/Conservatory
6.	"ARC" Riverbank Park/Promenade
7.	Landmark/Heritage Park
8.	Outdoor Pedestrian Malls
9.	"Hall of Immigration"
10.	Marina/Interpretative Centre
11.	Intermodal Transport Terminal
12.	Luxury Hotel
13.	Academic/Research and Development Campus
14.	Office/Retail (with pedestrian concourse)
15.	High-rise Apartments
16.	Townhouse
17.	Garden Apartments
18.	Local Shopping
19.	Ice Hockey Rink/Arena
20.	Landscaped, Divided Parkway

Possible Alternatives to Primary Proposal

4.	Retain Existing Bridge
7.*	Townhouse
13.	Stadium and/or Arena Complex; High-rise Apartments
16.	Garden Apartments
17.*	Public School

Note: *partial

would continuously shuttle back and forth. (The line could later be dualled if ridership volumes so warranted). One terminus would be located in or across from the Legislature grounds in the vicinity of Osborne Street and Assiniboine Avenue. Streetcar operation easterly along Assiniboine Avenue would be facilitated (without necessitating any loss of street trees) by shaving 2-2 1/2 feet off both boulevards - thus creasing a median strip for exclusive use by trolleys. After crossing Main Street, the trolley track would swing south to run parallel to and within 100-200 feet of the bank of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The line would thus define the northerly and westerly boundary of the "ARC" riverbank park and promenade system. South of Provencher Bridge, it would make use partly of existing Yards trackage and partly of all-new streetcar links. North of present day Thistle Lane, it would adopt the right-of-way of the little-used transfer track which connects the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railway mainline through central Winnipeg. At Bannatyne Avenue, cars would swing west through the "Warehouse" and "Old Market Square" heritage districts straddling Main Street. After crossing Princess Street, they would then swing northbound past City Hall and through Chinatown - traversing an abandoned railway spur (threading its way between buildings) running some 100 feet west of Princess. At either Alexander or Pacific Avenue, the line would turn east toward the river, making use of a portion of the existing public streetbed. Finally, at the Alexander Docks, the riverfront transfer track would be rejoined; cars heading southbound for the return journey to the Legislature. Trolley headways would be some 30-40 minutes in each direction.

Conjured up both as goodwill, civic-minded gesture and to stimulate tourist interest in downtown Winnipeg as a prime destination, we would advocate that the "historic trolley shuttle" be operated free of charge. Streetcars have been selected not only because they are more "atmospheric" than, say, tour buses; but, because they are synonymous with the era during which the historic districts they would service first rose to prominence and, in fact, played a key role in unleashing that process. By way of instructive precedent, similar and highly successful tourist and outing-oriented trolley lines are being operated in Seattle, Washington; Detroit, Michigan; and San Antonio, Texas.

The total length of the trolley route contemplated is approximately 5 kilometers.

2) All-weather Farmers' Market: This is a long standing proposal which has been effectively stymied by the unavailability of a suitable building or site also allowing for the provision of an adequate quantity of off-street patron parking. Construction of such facilities at a site in the neighbourhood on or near where the original public market stood would necessarily entail unwanted demolition of structures which have been designated as possessing significant historical and architectural merit.

We are, therefore, pleased to report that one of the existing buildings within the CN yard site would fit the bill admirably in all respects: the former Johnston Terminal warehouse (see Illustration 8, p. 22). Having been mothballed some seven years since its usage for freight handling and storage operations ceased, it is structurally in near-excellent condition; appears to have weathered disuse well (antifreeze was pumped into all the building's pipes); and has been kept hooked up to the Yard's steam-heating plant. Although not possessing a particularly distinguished exterior, it contains a vast amount of unobstructed, usable floor space (103,050 square feet). The building's interior is impressive - punctuated by hand-hewn wooden ceiling, support and tie beams (see Illustration 9). Oak freight elevator doors still gleam as if freshly burnished.

Having a total of four stories, plus basement, the building's ground floor (and perhaps basement) - serviceable by means of several loading docks - would be well-suited to house the aforementioned farmers' market. The large amount of vacant land in its vicinity could be paved and landscaped to sustain a more than ample number of outdoor parking spaces, subject to CN's willingness to make it available. It possesses the advantage of being ready for almost immediate start-up (pending minor renovations) without any major structural alteration being a prerequisite. If found to have been tentatively successful at this location the farmers' market could become a permanent fixture.

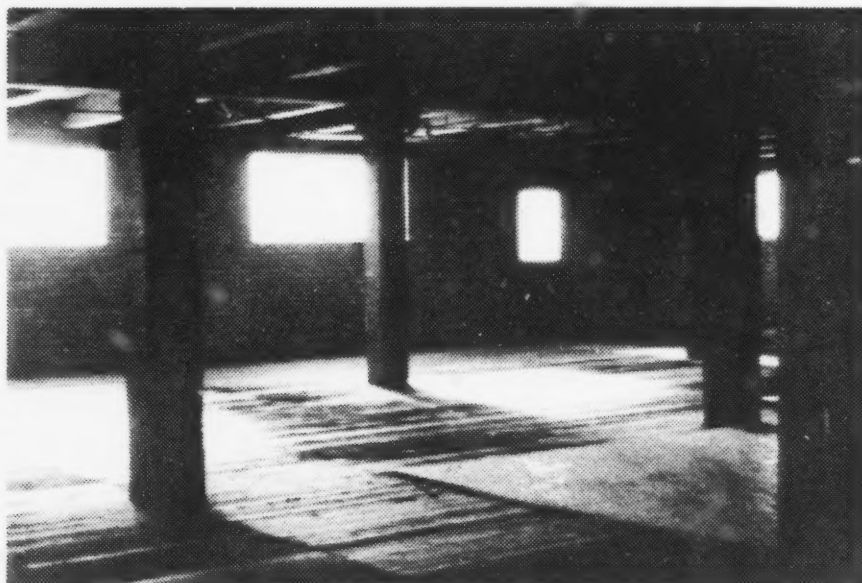


Illustration 9: Hand-hewn support and ceiling beams, upper floors of Johnston Warehouse.



Illustration 10: Looking west, along watercourse of Assiniboine River, from roof of Johnston Warehouse.



Illustration 11: Former livery stables used for workshops and administrative offices.



Illustration 11: Ex-stable rehabilitated for use as staff gymnasium; original woodwork restored.



Illustration 13: Existing railway lift bridge, spanning mouth of Assiniboine at confluence with Red River - counterweight visible.

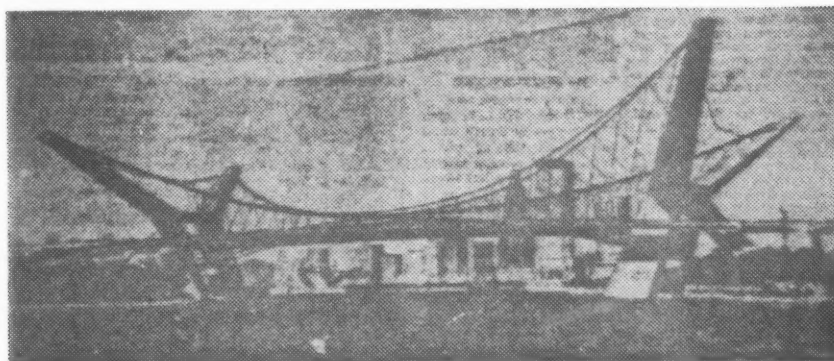


Illustration 14: Tension bridge, originally proposed to span arm of Baltimore Inner Harbour by Lev Zeitlin and Associates (New York).

The building and its environs could be turned into a self-contained minor activity node by making imaginative adaptation of the upper floors. Such complementary attractions as flea market, antique fair, art gallery, artists' loft and workshop space - even condominium conversion similar to the Terminal Market Building at Harbourfront, Toronto - are possible. The rooftop is fenced in by a high palisade wall (see Illustration 10) and provides unparalleled views of the downtown skyline and the sweep of the two rivers (chiefly because there are no other buildings surrounding it). The latter could well see duty as an outdoor cafe during the fair-weather months; if glassed in, it could become a year-round restaurant. If such activities were developed, the former Johnston Terminal warehouse could come to serve a two-fold public purpose: 1) visitors could spend a pleasant morning, afternoon, or evening absorbed in the goings-on entirely within the building; and 2) as has occurred in similar instances in Ottawa, Halifax, and Toronto, a farmers' market could supply a focal point for the establishment and solidification of a residential community and retail district in its immediate neighbourhood.

3) Museum of Western Canadian Railroading: This is one option we would expect the land's owner - Canadian National Railway - would endorse without qualification, and participate in extensively and enthusiastically. The forging of the two transcontinental railroads played a pivotal role in shaping the economies, and patterns of settlement of, the Western Canadian provinces. Yet, at the present time, there is no museum in the region to commemorate this formative phase of local history. Indicative of the level of public interest in such a facility was a display on the history of railroading in Western Canada staged several years ago at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary. That exhibit set impressive records for the success - both in terms of attendance and gate receipts collected.

Being situated literally at the crossroads of both rail, road, and waterborne transport on the Canadian prairies, the C.N. East Yards are appropriate to host any railway museum. The authors would suggest that the two former freight garages (seen from the outside in Illustration 11) could be refitted and joined together to form the museum's home. As may be gathered from Illustration 12, they have stood up well over the years; existing, aged

hardwood floors were varnished and buffed to create a staff gymnasium and "work-out" area. In addition, the antique steam train - Prairie Dog Central - presently is kept in winter storage on the site. If a one or two track elevated spur could be dropped down between the two existing garages and the nearby mainline, a covered platform could be created to serve as base of operations for the train's summer excursion outings, and as its winter display outpost. From this terminus, the Greater Winnipeg Water District Railway line extending to Shoal Lake (just inside the Ontario border) could be accessed. The City of Winnipeg formerly sponsored a weekend excursion train (operating one round-trip daily over that route) until dropping the service (for fiscal reasons) in 1983. It is recommended that the service be restored - by shifting the Prairie Dog Central to this more scenic and historic alternative routing from its present course utilizing the C.N.R.'s Oak Point subdivision. Such a move would confer the additional benefit of not threatening to obstruct the passage of freight-carrying trains over trackage intended primarily to handle transcontinental traffic.

4) Tension Bridge: The mouth of the Assiniboine River (where it empties into the Red) is arguably the single most historic plot of land in all Western Canada. Yet, it is marked presently only by a singularly bulky and undistinguished counterweight lift bridge (see Illustration 13) carrying a pair of railroad transfer tracks across the Assiniboine. Present plans call for that bridge to be adapted to carry pedestrian traffic at such time as railway use is discontinued.

We would argue, however, that the existing bridge ought to be demolished - to be replaced by a more striking landmark: a "tension bridge." The version depicted in Illustration 14 was devised by the Lev Zeitlin engineering and architectural firm of New York in 1967. Designed to carry a fourteen-lane freeway across an arm of Baltimore's inner harbour,¹¹ it "fell through" because it was a last-ditch attempt to salvage that which was manifestly unpalatable to the people of Baltimore: an extremely destructive and obtrusive elevated freeway proposal.

It is our fond hope that Baltimore's loss (i.e., the "tension bridge")

will become Winnipeg's gain - albeit obviously in greatly scaled-down form (to accommodate pedestrians and service vehicles). Visually striking, the structure resembles a "cat's cradle" composed of a webwork of slender steel fibres. With the use of wood towers, facing or decking, an effect could be achieved imitating the drawbridge of a fort: a most appropriate touch considering the history of the locale. Placed in such a setting (at the foot of the Assiniboine), it would suggest the visual embodiment of a promotional slogan frequently employed by the City of Winnipeg: Gateway to the Golden West. As such, it could be seized upon as both promotional symbol and attraction unto itself.

Because of its lightweight construction (especially the shallow deck), its cost is estimated to exceed that of supplying an all-new, purely functional, box-beam-and-girder bridge by a mere 10 per cent. Once installed, it will be a feature unique to Winnipeg: to the authors' knowledge, no such bridge has yet been constructed in all of North America (although there are numerous less-ornate examples of tension bridges in Europe - primarily in West Germany and the British Isles.

5) "Crystal Pavilion"/Conservatory: Because of the steepness and unevenness of the great depth of landfill piled upon the Point Fort Rouge site commanding the confluence of the two rivers, its usefulness for passive parkland would seem to us to be greatly limited. Interface between the land and the river's edge is particularly difficult. It would appear to best lend itself to some activity which takes maximal advantage of the panoramic views its elevation affords. Furthermore, we would insist at all costs, whatever structure is built upon the site not be derivative of what has been done on similar occasions elsewhere (e.g., a dreary succession of observation towers, topped by revolving restaurants, reconstructions of forts and stockades, massive concrete arches, etc.).

Hence, the authors feel that some form of glass pavilion or conservatory would best be suited to the task. The installation of terraced flowerbeds and fountains could perhaps enable the steep riverbank to be transformed into a landscaping asset. Band concerts could be performed and various displays and

shows staged. A restaurant or tea garden would both be possibilities. By night neon/or laser lights might accent the grounds and buildings.

As a footnote to the foregoing, the authors believe that consideration of what might best grace the Point Fort Rouge site should under no circumstances be limited to their own suggestion. The best possible solution as to how to dispose of such a prestigious repository of historic events would be throwing the matter open for both the receipt of suggestions from the general public and the submission of design concepts by those involved in the environmental planning fields.

6) "ARC" Riverbank/Promenade: Already in existence to the north of Provencher Bridge (where it has been officially dubbed "Stephen Juba Park"), we have included this element as a given in our own scheme. Composed of "green space" highlighted by a pedestrian promenade along the river's edge, its object is to relieve at least the riverfront from the encroachment it has suffered from industrial, utility, and railway superstructures. In so doing, downtown Winnipeg is to be reunited with the waterfront from which it has been virtually severed for almost 100 years (see Exhibit E).

The ARC park will also feature some (as yet to be determined) form of commemoration to the three major historic forts and trading posts which once dominated the site. There will also be two public docks (one each flanking Provencher and Main Street Bridges) for the mooring of private sailing vessels; these might also incorporate boarding and discharge points for a proposed network of "boat buses" plying the Red and lower Assiniboine Rivers.

Detailed discussion of this aspect of the conceptual site plan may be found in numerous documents available free of charge from the "ARC" Planning Secretariat.

7) Landmark/Heritage Park: Once acquired under the ARC Agreement, this portion of the Yards lands is to be turned over to the custodianship of Parks Canada. Dependent upon the amount, intactness, and noteworthiness of artifacts unearthed thereabouts by its archaeological staff, Parks Canada may

choose to display such remnants either in situ; within the confines of a conjectural "interpretative centre;" or in conjunction with reconstructions of the period forts and trading posts referred to earlier.

Visitorship is to be expected on a par with that recorded at Halifax Citadel and Quebec Ramparts (500,000+ persons per annum). Scale of operations is envisioned as being most closely comparable to that of Fort Rodd Hill, Victoria, British Columbia (annual operating expenditures: \$93,000; staffing level: equivalent of 13 person/years; both figures for budget year April 1982-March 1983).

8) Outdoor Pedestrian Malls: ARC plans already call for Union Station to be turned into a "window on the Yards" by punching an east/west pedestrian link through from the foot of Provencher Bridge on a direct line to the rear of the Station. Projected width is 50-66 feet. We would supplement these plans by proposing an additional pedestrian link roughly bisecting the Yard Site in an irregular line from northwest to southeast. As its northern terminus, it would make use of the right-of-way of existing Water Avenue (the balance of which would be discontinued) and the most southerly block of Westbrook Street. It would be heavily landscaped with trees, flowerbeds, and ornamental lighting; a portion could, perhaps, even be "glassed in." It would occupy a right-of-way of up to 100 feet in width. At its junction with the east/west mall, a 0.8 acre plaza would be created.

In addition to outfitting the entire tract with a park-like, leisurely, pedestrian-oriented axis, potential visitor interest could also be built in by styling the north/south mall an "avenue of immigration." Stalls could be set up during the warm-weather months vending ethnic foods, and crafts; a bandshell might be installed to host shows stressing ethnic music and dance. A cosmopolitan flair would thus pervade.

From an aesthetic standpoint, the additional mall would be designed to preserve a continuous, unobstructed vista between downtown and "The Forks." Standing at its head at Water and Main (framed by the classical Federal Building), visual interest would be focussed on the Plaza, "tension bridge,"

pavilion, and open expanse of the rivers in the distance. From an observation platform at its foot, one would obtain a matchless view of the downtown skyline.

9) Hall of Immigration: This is another idea which has been bandied about for some years - and which could profit from becoming a prime tenant of a redeveloped East Yards site.

At present, there is no permanent display hall to dramatize the central contribution played by immigrant groups in settling the Prairie region and shaping its unique, polyglot blend of cultures. The existence of such a facility would enable the yearly "Folklorama" celebrations (and their immense popularity in attracting tourists to Winnipeg) to be made permanent and year-round.

The building which is contemplated, of some three or four storeys in height, would be comparable in size to the existing "Museum of Man and Nature." Containing display galleries and an auditorium, it would afford various ethnic groups a rotating opportunity to stage exhibits of their native crafts, foods, arts, dance, music, etc. As depicted in Map 5, the upper floors would span the east/west pedestrian mall - drawing visual attention to the museum by forming a bridge over it. The plaza alluded to under conceptual feature #8 would comprise the "front yard" of the museum.

10) Marina/Interpretative Centre: In view of the previous assertions pinpointing the bulk of potentially recoverable artifacts in area #7, it may seem odd that the interpretative centre will have been slated for a site so far removed from their "mother lode." Three considerations have, however, conspired to induce the ARC program to settle on this tentative site:

- a) because of its proximity to Provencher Bridge, it affords good access both from downtown and St. Boniface;
- b) it has been acquired with Core Area Initiative funds and thus, is available for immediate use; and
- c) placing the building at a more southerly locale could not be done until the area was thoroughly excavated and all worthwhile artifacts removed.

If upon exploration, it is later determined that the artifacts there deposited

are either scanty or of poor quality, the interpretative centre might yet be shifted to a more optimal site closer to "The Forks."

The said facility would serve as the point of initial orientation for all sightseers. Some of the latter could arrive by "boat bus" from points of interest elsewhere in the ARC Red River Corridor (which, when fully developed, will extend from St. Norbert in the south, to Netley Point Marshes in the north).

11) Intermodal Transport Terminal: The intention here is to create a single, central point of downtown interconnection between all modes of land transport. Toward this end, discussions are currently underway between the City of Winnipeg, Province of Manitoba, and Federal Ministry of Transport aimed at reviving the "Southwest Rapid Transit Corridor" proposal and relocating the intercity bus terminal from its present location (on Balmoral) to an all-new facility in the immediate vicinity of Union Station. If this proposal comes to pass, handy walking transfer will have been facilitated between passengers of VIA Rail, the rapid transit line, Winnipeg Transit surface vehicles, and possible future commuter rail links. Transit buses will feed into and through the proposed intermodal terminal via exclusive bus lanes along Graham Avenue, Fort and Garry Streets, and York and St. Mary Avenues.

12) Luxury Hotel: The high volume of commuter traffic generated by the presence of the intermodal transport terminal would bode well for the sharing of the site by a luxury hotel taking advantage of the captive audience which will automatically be found. The existing Fort Garry Hotel also stands to become a major beneficiary of the overnight hospitality trade thus created. "Air rights" straddling the C.N. mainline could well be utilized to house a portion of the new hotel's superstructure.

13) Academic/Research and Development Campus: The Institute of Urban Studies at The University of Winnipeg and the Department of City Planning at the University of Manitoba presently occupy improvised quarters in cramped, substandard buildings. The University of Winnipeg would seem to be best equipped to sponsor a long-awaited union between the two related academic

bodies; however, further expansion of The University of Winnipeg's present campus to achieve the above stated aim would necessarily entail uprooting the residential neighbourhoods which surround it.

The authors would, therefore, offer up a large site within the existing East Yards for the establishment of a future home for both these facilities. It would become, in effect, a "satellite campus" of The University of Winnipeg. Situated on such a prestigious and symbol-laden piece of land (with an historic park and the downtown skyline silhouetting it), it would be launched in hopes of its becoming the flagship for the carrying on of urban research in Western Canada. Other hypothetical tenants of the proposed campus might include an institute of ethnocultural research and the "top-drawer, transport research facility" recently promised to Winnipeg under the Federal/Provincial "Memorandum of Understanding on Transport" [since consigned to the University of Manitoba's main Fort Richmond campus].

The site designated would be amply large to accommodate up to four buildings: an administrative/activities centre; a classroom building; a dormitory tower; and a research "think tank."

14) Office/Retail (with pedestrian concourse): This component is again designed to take advantage of commerce attracted to the east flank of Main Street by the presence of the cluster of commuter nodes to be concentrated there. As depicted by the cross-hatching on the accompanying map, certain of these activities (including hotel) could share different levels of the intermodal transport terminal site. Not indicated on the map is a pedestrian concourse tying Union Station to the "Winnipeg Square" shopping mall via an underground or elevated passageway extending north/south along the length of the east side of Main. When incorporated into plans already adopted to link up Union Station to the "skyway" network presently under construction in the South of Portage commercial area (via a pedestrian bridge spanning Main Street), the canyon effect imposed by Main Street (and thwarting area properties from realizing their fullest commercial potential) will have been alleviated.

STAGING 6

**C.N. EAST YARDS , WINNIPEG
DEVELOPMENT PLAN****LEGEND**

PHASE I



PHASE II



PHASE III

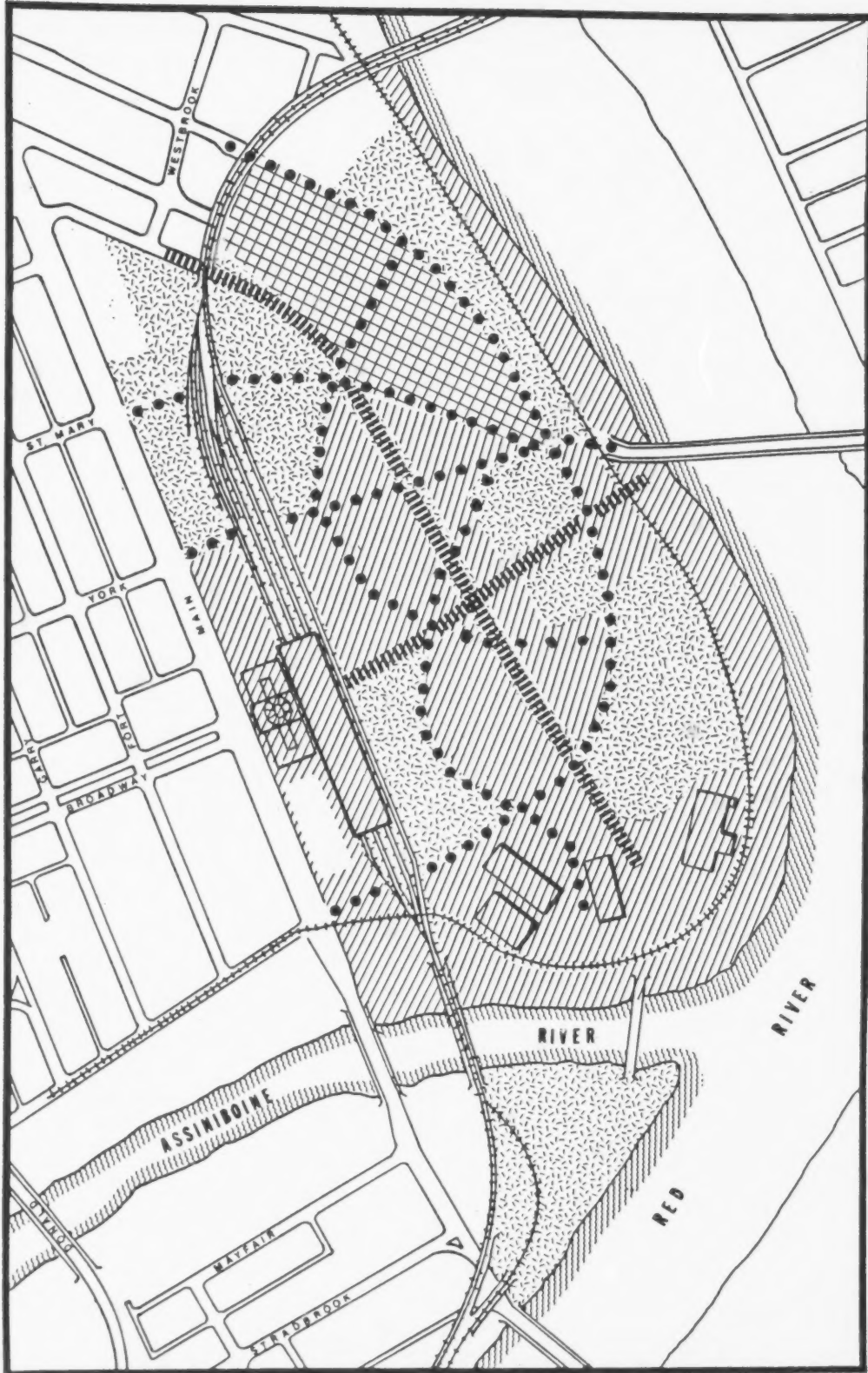
STAGING 6

STUDY GROUP: AREMU S.
BRUNDRIGE R.
LOWE J.
ZIOTAS I.

FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE
CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT



APRIL 1984

MAP 6
STAGING

15) High-Rise Apartments: Care has been taken to situate these in such a manner so as not to "wall off" river vistas to non-residents of the community going up on the East Yards site. Nor would one desire to see a permanent shadow cast over the riverfront promenade by apartment blocks huddled beside it and looming over it. While the extremely generous allotment of parkland and open space to be conferred upon the site is intended to be exploited thoroughly by area residents, we do not wish to see these public lands become their exclusive preserve; hence the "setbacks."

Residential towers would basically occupy five parcels: a four poster affair sitting more or less at the geographical centre of the existing railway yards; and an isolated pocket south of the existing hydro sub-station. With this configuration, up to 600 units are possible (depending upon building heights). In accordance with design precepts earlier stated, these apartment towers would buffer lower-rise residences from northerly and northwesterly winds.

Minor retail could be permitted at ground level allied with the apartment blocks. In addition, by joining the four central towers with an aerial bridgework above the adjacent streets, a community centre for area residents could be created.

16) Townhouse: The southeastern quadrant of the residential sector would be dedicated to low-rise townhouses. These could probably fetch a premium selling price because of their proximity to the historical and recreational opportunities clustered at "The Forks." Depending on densities, up to 44 units are envisioned. The latter would probably have to be perched atop a podium in order to provide for on-site, covered parking stalls.

17) Garden Apartments: These 3-4 storey "walk-ups" have been arranged around the townhouse component in a "opened clamshell" configuration. This has been done in order both to further shelter the townhouses from winter winds and to avoid monotony by placing different types and heights of residences along the east/west pedestrian mall. Again, depending upon densities, up to 111 such units would be possible.

18) Local Shopping: As differentiated from the "high-class" and high-volume outlets slated for the eastern slope of the railway embankment, a pocket of service oriented retail businesses is to be set up on the most southeasterly such parcel. These are intended to satisfy the day-to-day needs of the impending residential enclave. Such storefronts would also function to screen out any excessive noise and vibration emanating from the mainline tracts which might otherwise disturb the peace of the residential tracts. [Note: In a similar development - Toronto's St. Lawrence Village - garden apartment entrances and balconies face out onto a railroad trunk line perhaps 10 yards distant. While we think this unadvisable, it demonstrates to our satisfaction that retail businesses could carry on unruffled at close quarters to a major rail route.]

19) Ice Hockey Rink/Arena: Of all the aged railway buildings found on the East Yard site, the old Northern Pacific & Manitoba roundhouse possesses the least architectural distinction. Nonetheless, we do feel that it would lend itself well (by its structure and dimensions) to modernization for later-day use as hockey rink and/or multi-purpose arena. Such an arena would be geared primarily to serve the local populace.

20) Landscaped, Divided Parkway: This scenic, loop road would supply a continuous circuit between Portage Avenue East and Assiniboine Avenue. Heavily treed, flowered and landscaped, it would allow the pleasure motorist to take in a broad selection of river views. There would be benefits for the business traveller as well: in addition to alleviating the present discontinuities between Portage Avenue and Provencher Bridge, a by-pass of the Portage and Main intersection would become available to drivers approaching downtown from the south, east and west. Featuring grassed shoulders and a 20 foot wide, planted centre median, the 112 foot parkway right-of-way would initially carry two roadways in each direction (allowing sufficient room for an additional 2-4 lanes should a need arise in future for expansion of the roadbed).

Our recommended roadway network also incorporated the City's long postponed York-St. Mary "one-way pair" and two interior loop roadways (of the

standard, 66 foot width) for internal traffic circulation. Both of the latter are "one-way" in their easternmost block; "two-way" elsewhere.

7.3 Some Possible Alternative Uses

A number of the specific proposals which make up our unified conceptual plan are highly assumption bound. The "urban research campus," for instance, is predicated upon informal discussions among the involved faculties which have simply mooted such a move; the entire "heritage park" area has been set aside for recreational use pending archaeological determination of its buried, historical assets. Hence, in a handful of instances, it may prove profitable to specify some "fall-back" positions.

Item 4: Retention of existing railway bridge for future pedestrian use. This to occur chiefly if the cost of the ornamental replacement bridge is deemed to high.

Item 7: Relocation of townhouse site (and construction of additional townhouse units). If not needed for commemorative purposes, the more easterly half of the "heritage park" area (situated between the marina/interpretative centre and the southern terminus of the lengthier pedestrian mall and measuring 11.2 acres) would be a highly desirable plot for the installation of high-priced townhouses.

Item 13: Stadium or arena complex; high-rise apartments. If public sponsorship for the proposed satellite campus of The University of Winnipeg does not materialize, the identical site could be reserved for a new, downtown stadium or arena. While several of our correspondents enjoined us to entertain such a possibility, we see little lacking in either the accessibility or commodiousness of the existing "sportsplex" at Polo Park. A more realistic alternative might be the emplacement of additional apartment towers on site 13.

Item 16: Expansion of garden apartment site. If, as previously specified, the easterly half of the conjectural "heritage park" was released

to accommodate townhouse development, the vacated area would be given over to additional garden apartments.

Item 17: Southwesterly public school. A major stumbling block to child-rearing families relocating to the downtown area and its immediate environs has been the complete absence of any public school. Were the goal of attracting such family types endorsed, the former East Yards might constitute an ideal locale for such a school.

7.4 Land Use Subdivision

The following table contains a land-use accountancy ordered by categories of activity. Within categories, the acreages allotted to individual facilities have been itemized. Acreages and percentages of land dedicated to each broad class of use add up to more than 100 per cent because of redundancies occurring when several uses are slated to co-exist on a single site (especially in the case of the multimodal transport terminal and companions.

Through inspection of Table 4, the unusually high proportion of "public space" reserved under our conceptual plan may be discerned. Nearly 40 per cent of the available land has been turned over to park use: public attractions (listed under the institutional heading) occupy an additional 14 per cent. Private, profit-oriented activities (housing, retail/office, and hotel), by contrast, account for some 30 per cent of the total land mass. The remainder is taken up by vehicular and pedestrian roadways, and by "public works" structures (the latter chiefly related to passenger transport).

7.5 Sponsorship and Funding Sources for Individual Projects

The most succinct way of covering this subject - considering the multiplicity of different projects and funding sources - is through a summary Table. Accordingly, Table 5 has been prepared for the aid of the reader; a checklist, it covers projects in the numerical order in which they were originally detailed in section 7.2.

TABLE 4

ACREAGES ALLOTTED BY PARCEL

Category	Facility	Acreage	Total	
Housing	High-rise	0.70	11.8%	
		0.72		
		1.35		
		1.49		
		<u>1.70</u>		
		5.96		
	Garden Apartments	3.50		
		<u>2.05</u>		
		5.55		
	Townhouse	1.46		
		<u>2.19</u>		
3.65				
	15.16%			
Institutional	Immigration Hall	1.25	13.7%	
	Campus	6.53		
		6.16		
	Ft. Garry Curling	2.65		
	Interpretive Centre/Marina	<u>0.97</u>		
	17.56			
Circulation	N.S. Pedestrian Mall	4.96	13/9%	
	E.W. Pedestrian Mall	0.78		
	Plaza	<u>0.79</u>		
		6.53		
	Street & Roadways	<u>11.34</u>		
	17.87			
Parkland	Recreational	24.13	39.0%	
	Historic/Interpretive	<u>26.00</u>		
		50.13		
Public Works	Union Station	4.58	13.4%	
	S.W. Transit Corridor Terminal	4.33		
	Wpg. Transit & Bus Terminal	5.17		
	Hydro Substation	<u>3.15</u>		
		17.23		
Retail Office	Regional	17.29	15.8%	
	Local	<u>3.06</u>		
		20.35		
Hotel		3.04	2.4%	
	GRAND TOTAL		128.55	

TABLE 5

SPONSORSHIP AND FUNDING

Project	Private Sector Participation(?)	Government(s) Involved			Sponsoring Agencies
		Winnipeg	Manitoba	Canada	
1 Antique Trolley Shuttle	Yes	X			Downtown Wpg. Assoc.
2 Farmers' Market	No	X			
3 Museum of Western Odn. Railroad	Yes		X	X	CNR; Midwestern Rail Association
4 Tension Bridge	No		X	X	ARC
5 Crystal Pavilion/Conservatory	No	X	X		
6 Riverbank Park/Promenade	No		X	X	ARC
7 Landmark/Heritage Park	No			X	Parks Canada
8 Outdoor Pedestrian Mall	No	X	X	X	ARC
9 Hall of Immigration	Yes		X	X	Folklorama; Ministry of Multiculturalism
10 Marina/Interpretive Centre	No		X	X	ARC
11 Intermodal Transport Terminal	Yes	X	X	X	Memorandum of Understanding on Transport Wpg. Transit; Private bus carriers
12 Luxury Hotel	Yes				CN Real Estate; Private hotel chains

continued next page

TABLE 5 CONTINUED

Project	Private Sector Participation(?)	SPONSORSHIP AND FUNDING			Sponsoring Agencies
		Winnipeg	Government(s) Manitoba	Involved Canada	
13 Academic/Research Campus	No		X	X	U. of Wpg.; Mem. of Understanding on Transport
14 Office/Retail (Ped. concourse)	Yes	X			CN Real Estate; Private Developers
15 High-rise Apartments	Yes		X	X	CMHC; MHC; Private Developers
16 Townhouse	Yes			X	CMHC; Private Developers
17 Garden Apartments	No	X		X	CMHC; WHRC
18 Local Retail	Yes				Private Developers
19 Arena	No	X			
20 Landscaped Parkway	No	X	X	X	Parks Canada

A further qualifier needs to be appended to the housing arrangements. The authors believe it a worthy principle to ensure that these flagship, publicly-promoted apartment projects contain as broad a cross-section of socio-economic classes of tenants as possible; any "ghettoization" effect could thereby be avoided (whether of high or low income groups).

This objective can be accomplished in two ways. Where private developers are the agent of recourse (as in the high-rise sector), a specified percentage of apartments in each building - 25-33 per cent - would be earmarked for occupancy by rent-subsidized tenants. This percentage would consist of standard apartment units (not "stripped down" ones, or ones in less desirable locations in the building), and would be continuously rotated among units as they became available through vacancy (as opposed to setting aside certain "blacklisted" units for occupancy solely by tenants receiving rental and/or income assistance).

In the case of housing supplied and managed by public authorities (i.e., the garden apartment segment), an indigenous socio-economic balance would be maintained through the expedient of "income blending." Under this scheme, lower and middle income tenants are charged levels of rent geared to their ability to pay. Upper-income tenants, however, are lured onto the premises by charging them rental rates considerably below what they would be capable of paying (and, indeed would be willing to pay on the "open market"). While the latter are, in some sense, receiving a publicly-underwritten bargain, their higher rent charges are, in effect, supplying a built-in source of subsidy for tenants at the low end of the income and rental scale.

7.6 Some Suggestions as to Cost

Because the attached proposals are at the embryonic, conceptual stage, it would be premature to attempt detailed and exacting cost estimates. In particular, certain of the proposals await the emergence of building design plans (e.g., the crystal pavilion at Point Fort Rouge, multimodal transport terminal, etc.).

Nonetheless, where suitable analogues are available - or standard, up-to-date construction cost figures are applicable - there may be profit in making cursory suggestions as to the likely costs which will be incurred in implementing those individual projects not hamstrung by architectural design detail. In order that the reader may obtain a feel for the financial demands of our undertaking, a partial listing of the projected costs of several facilities appears below.

Sources for the information in the following table include trade manuals detailing the latest construction costs for (all new and renovated) buildings, roadways, and green space; and estimates advanced by practitioners and academics from the civil engineering, city planning, architectural and landscape architecture fields. Where dated cost figures have been used (e.g., antique trolley shuttle, ARC riverbank park and promenade, the Museum of Man and Nature, and Southwest Transit Corridor), they have been adjusted to reflect subsequent price inflation (for Winnipeg and region) up to January 1984. Land acquisition costs have had to be omitted inasmuch as the latter is still very much an "open question."

TABLE 6

A PARTIAL LISTING OF ESTIMATED COSTS FOR INDIVIDUAL EAST YARDS PROJECTS

Item 1: Antique Trolley Shuttle (single track); [Deliberately based on 1980 figures for relevant portions of Calgary Light Rapid Transit (most expensive such system built in Canada, hence estimate is probably over-inflated); Calgary light-rail vehicles use panatograph instead of single-pole trolley; Calgary LRT lines are double tracked].

Trackwork: \$428,000/km (Calgary: \$856,000 for dual)

Electrification: \$391,000/km (Calgary: \$782,000 for dual)

Right-of-Way Acquisition: \$0 (Calgary: unknown)

3 Antique-style Cars: \$100,000/unit (Calgary: \$811,000/unit x 35)

Line Length: Approximately 5 km

TOTAL COST: $(5 \times \$428,000) + (5 \times \$391,000) + (3 \times \$100,000) = \underline{\$4,395,000}$

[Compared with \$48,864,000 for streetcar aspects of Calgary LRT network (i.e., cost cited does not include tunneling, signalling elevated guideways, or station platforms necessary for rapid transit operation)].

Item 2: All-weather farmers' market [pertains to "Johnston Terminal" warehouse]: extensive structural alteration not required; renovation cost therefore approximately \$18/sq.ft. of floor footage.

Area: 103,050 square feet at \$18/sq.ft.

TOTAL COST: \$1,854,000

Item 4: Tension Bridge: [Refers to structure capable of carrying pedestrians, cyclists, and service vehicles; to be built at site of present-day railway lift bridge at mouth of Assiniboine River].

Preliminary Bridge Size: 12' wide deck (concrete) x 400' length = 4,800 sq.ft.

Construction Cost: 4,800 sq.ft. @ \$400/sq.ft. = \$1,920,000; Could range as high as \$3 million, depending upon aesthetic window dressing.

Demolition of Existing, Counterweight Bridge: approximately \$800,000

TOTAL COST: $\$2,460,000 + \$800,000 = \underline{\$3,260,000}$

Item 6: ARC Riverbank Park/Promenade: [Figures cited derived from "Red River Corridor-Master Development Plan" (Canada Manitoba Agreement for Recreation and Conservation - 1981) p. 10]

TOTAL COST: \$981,000

TABLE 6 CONTINUED

A PARTIAL LISTING OF ESTIMATED COSTS FOR INDIVIDUAL EAST YARDS PROJECTS

Item 8: Outdoor Pedestrian Malls: [Unit cost cited includes ornamental lighting (at \$1,500 per lamp standard), trees (4 every 8 metres of length at \$450 each), and concrete sidewalk (30-metre width at \$150 per running metre)].

North/South Mall: (1,103m x 30m) 1,103 metres @ \$562/running metre = \$619,886 excluding benches and landscaping

East/West Mall: (366m x 15m) 366 metres @ \$488/running metre = \$178,608

TOTAL COST: \$798,494

Item 9: Hall of Immigration: [Based upon 1971 final construction costs for Museum of Man and Nature].

Museum Building: 125,367 sq.ft. (including office tower, storage space, and 45,276 sq.ft. of display space)

TOTAL COST: \$10,138,407 (for a unit cost of \$81/sq.ft. of floor footage)

Item 10: Marina/Interpretative Centre: [Based upon "Red River Corridor-Master Development Plan" (1981), p. 10].

TOTAL COST: \$3,349,000

Item 13: Academic/Research & Development Campus: [The proposed downtown complex is presumed to entail one residence building, one classroom/administrative complex, and one high technology research building (including laboratory and testing facilities)].

Residence Building: a mid-rise tower to house 200 students in single rooms.
200 units @ \$20,000/unit = \$4,000,000

Classroom Complex: a 70,000 sq.ft. building; 70,000 sq.ft. @ \$100/sq.ft. = \$7,000,000

High Tech Building: 30,000 sq.ft. @ \$700/sq.ft. = \$21,000,000

TOTAL COST: \$32,000,000

TABLE 6 CONTINUED

A PARTIAL LISTING OF ESTIMATED COSTS FOR INDIVIDUAL EAST YARDS PROJECTS

Item 15: High-rise Apartments (75-100 units/acre): [Final costs comprise average of minimum number of units which could be economically built at stated density, multiplied by minimum feasible construction cost; and maximum number of units feasible/multiplied by maximum theoretical construction cost].

Low End of Scale: 448 units @ \$65,000/unit = \$29,120,000

High End of Scale: 596 units @ \$90,000/unit = \$53,640,000

AVERAGE TOTAL COST: \$41,380,000

Item 16: Townhouses (10-12 units/acre): [Same qualifiers apply as for previous example].

Low End of Scale: 37 units @ \$65,000/unit = \$2,405,000

High End of Scale: 44 units @ \$85,000/unit = \$3,740,000

AVERAGE TOTAL COST: \$3,072,500

Item 17: Garden Apartments (15-20 units/acre): [Same qualifiers apply as for two preceding examples].

Low End of Scale: 84 units @ \$50,000/unit = \$4,200,000

High End of Scale: 111 units @ \$75,000/unit = \$8,325,000

AVERAGE TOTAL COST: \$6,262,500

Item 20: Landscaped, Divided Parkway (and lesser streets):

York/St. Mary one-way pair: (City of Winnipeg, Streets & Transport Division figures): three lanes in each direction and land acquisition.

TOTAL COST: \$10,700,000

Assiniboine Parkway: Four twelve-foot roadways (two in each direction), 3,900 ft. length. 187,200 sq.ft. pavement @ \$20/sq.ft. = \$3,744,000*

Local Streets: 33 foot pavement, combined roadway length of 3,438 ft. (1,288 & 2,150 respectively) 113,454 sq.ft. pavement @ \$18/sq.ft. = \$2,042,172

TOTAL COST: \$16,486,172

*Not including railway underpass and ornamental landscaping.

TABLE 6 CONTINUED

A PARTIAL LISTING OF ESTIMATED COSTS FOR INDIVIDUAL EAST YARDS PROJECTS

Item 21: (not discussed in text): Southwest Rapid Transit Corridor [Figures drawn from 1977 Deleeuw-Dillon consultants report (Phase II), Table 5.1; includes projected property acquisition, design, and construction costs].

East Yard Roadway: (Water Avenue to Assiniboine River): \$1,508,220

Assiniboine River Bridge & Main Street Overpass: \$14,579,460

TOTAL COST: \$16,087,680

GRAND TOTAL FOR ALL PROJECTS INCLUDED
IN BREAKDOWN OF PARTIAL COSTS:

\$140,065,653

The grand total of Table 6 gives some idea of the ultimate standard of development and magnitude of expenditure envisioned by the study group - and is reflective of the high cost innate in the intensive development of prime, downtown land.

7.7 Phasing of Implementation

The timing of the initiation of construction on individual projects is geared, in a basic sense, to the order in which they would likely achieve fruition. That order is, in turn, reflective of both which projects give advance indication of having firm funding sources; and, of current societal priorities as tempered and enunciated locally.

The phasing chronology consists of three overlapping time horizons: Stage I (1-3 years hence); Stage II (3-5 years); and Stage III (5-10 years). Besides being laid out narratively in Table 7, the completion timetable is also depicted pictorially in Map 6; blank areas within the boundaries of the East Yard site indicate present day features retained in intact or upgraded form. The recommendations are as follows:

TABLE 7

TIME FRAME OF INAUGURATION (AND COMPLETION OF INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS)

Phase I (1-3 years)	Phase II (3-5 years)	Phase III (5-10 years)
-Antique Trolley Shuttle -All-Weather Farmers' Market -Museum of Western Odn. Railroad -Tension Bridge -ARC Riverbank Park/Promenade -East/West Pedestrian Mall -Hall of Immigration -Marina/Interpretative Centre -Intermodal Transport Terminal -4/5 of High-Rise -1/2 of Townhouse -1/2 of Garden Apartments -Ice Hock Rink/Arena -Arterial Roads/Local Streets -Southwest Transit Corridor	-Crystal Pavilion/Conservatory -Landmark/Heritage Park -North/South Pedestrian Mall -Luxury Hotel -Office/Retail -Indoor Pedestrian Concourse -1/5 of High-Rise -1/2 of Townhouse -1/2 of Garden Apartments -Local Shopping	-Academic/Research & Development Campus

The chosen regime embodies the authors' reading of the rate at which the local market can absorb the projects called for (including capitalization and turnover). The intention of the timing arrangements is to invoke a sort of symbiosis: the presence of many public attractions will magnetize residents and visitors to the new community to be created on the site; incoming residents will, in turn, become the chief patrons of those public institutions. Ultimately, the attention thus generated will fetch a bounty of private, commercial investment as well.

As a parting comment, all manner of temporary uses for an individual subsection are possible prior to the construction phase being entered (e.g., passive parks). Furthermore, the stated timetable should not be regarded as being chiselled in stone; should firm funding commitments emerge for projects slated for the later phases, or should any dramatic local market upturn occur, they can (and should) be "leap frogged."

8.0 SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Lying a mere "stone's throw" from the "peak land-value intersection" of Portage Avenue and Main Street, the Canadian National Railway's East Yards are unquestionably the prime large parcel of unimproved land in the entire metropolitan Winnipeg area. Given their historic, strategic, and potentially monetary worth, their current sadly underdeveloped and deteriorated state poses an embarrassing contrast with the plethora of revitalization efforts under way in adjoining areas of the downtown core. With no end to the continuing severing of "The Forks" to public access on the horizon, the negative imagery inherent in the neglect of what has been repeatedly referred to as "the single most significant historic site in all of Western Canada" will persist. With the re-opening and commemoration of the "cradle of Winnipeg's birth," this City may yet be symbolically re-linked to its glory years.

In assessing the reasons behind the long-standing impasse concerning the ultimate fate of the East Yards, we feel the hardened bargaining positions of

the chief combatants over the site - C.N. and the City of Winnipeg - are largely at fault. If this standoff is to end, it seems obvious that the self-serving posturing and petty political jealousies which have tainted the negotiations to date must be shelved. We see no necessary contradistinction between the "best interests" of both the City and C.N. in arriving at agreement over what sorts of activities ought to appear on the site; indeed, the current "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude of both serve only to effectively squelch whatever sequence of benefits might flow from a reasonably prompt inauguration of development, to each party (and the public and shareholders they serve).

It is our belief that the striking of a joint/public/private development corporation (such as has been done for the North of Portage redevelopment area) offers the best hope for a resolution of the outstanding issues satisfactory to both the City and C.N. Through this device, both parties can best arrive at a saw-off fixing a sale price for the lands in dispute at somewhere between its "book" value and "protected" value; can "call the shots" on the shape development will take; and can arrive at some mutual understanding as to what constitutes the "highest and best use" of the East Yards site. Parenthetically to this, a firmly planted first step in the reconciliation process would be the giving of a speedy go-ahead to the parkland component of the project; all are agreed that its emplacement cannot but help to augment the value of adjacent remaining plots for luring potentially profit yielding activities.

There is a broad and invaluable lesson to be learned here concerning the traditional, reflexive, adversarial relationship between government bodies and business interests. Digging beneath the surface rhetoric, one discovers mutual propagandistic gains stemming from the pose of opposition. Each "plays off" the actions and pronouncements of the other - standing poised to blame "government meddling" or "private avariciousness" should a project fail; and to seize sole credit, should it succeed.

While the best interests of the public and private sectors will not always coincide, there is no reason why, either through sheer fortuitousness

imperative that a fresh, bipartisan working understanding be struck between the two - particularly in the area of economic development. Under this arrangement, an atmosphere of prior consultation would replace the prevalent practice of "bargaining through the media."

Large-scale, publicly-directed development initiatives (such as the one herein under discussion) are illustrative of the glaring defects of the current approach. Private backers typically propose a "blockbuster" development, of their own devising, for a key downtown locale. The civic administration - thinking it either an imprudent business proposition or in conflict with sound, balanced planning principle (as they define the latter) - stalls it, or rejects it outright. Both sides hold fast to their initial positions. Exhorted to do so by the local press the City anoints a blue-ribbon panel of experts to come up with a "blue-ribbon solution" (the mere pronouncement of which will somehow magically sweep away the impasse). It unveils a showpiece plan, and then invites developers who wish to participate to come forward (apparently expecting that the latter will literally bowl each other over in their unseemly haste to "get in on the ground floor"). Given the lordliness of this type of "come-on," it will be almost guaranteed to turn out a tactical blunder and a promotional failure. Even where such a government-induced plan has clear merit, it is hardly unimaginable that business interest will often times spurn it - driven by an ideologically motivated wish to see a government enterprise fall flat.

The message in the foregoing passage is that, where it is determined that the private sector can play a leading role in sponsoring development, it must participate from the outset (as opposed to consultation "after the fact"). Where the public sector determines to "go it alone," (or the private sector, through its recalcitrance, declines to participate in a publicly spearheaded project "up front"), it has a twofold choice to make: it can either hire privately-supplied expertise for the promotional, construction, and operational phases; or it can muster the fortitude to undertake these efforts using its own talents and resources. By such steps can the roles of private and public sector actors be brought into sharper definitional focus and smoother interrelationship.

This paper, then sees a dynamic challenge looming in East Yards redevelopment. It would embrace a new consensus among private and public groups in forging urban advancement: the tailoring of a redefined spirit of "boosterism." At the same time, it would re-open a sizeable missing chunk of Winnipeg's heritage and riverfront to public appreciation. Skillfully designed, it would become a demonstration model of the pleasures of downtown living. We ought not to allow such a unique and sterling opportunity to showcase our civic wares to be squandered any longer. The present bargaining atmosphere - rife with ingrained jealousy and narrow-minded obstructionism - must be quashed if a settlement is to be reached. The continuing existence of a major vacuum on the doorstep of downtown can only work to the detriment of all concerned. Given thoughtful and conciliatory approaches - coupled with a resolve to proceed - blight may yet be replaced by productive enterprise; and prevalent attitudes of indolence and pessimism, by an outlook brimming with reinvigorated confidence.

NOTES

1. G.B. Woolsey, Historic Resources of the Red-Assiniboine: A Preliminary Analysis of their Interpretive and Development Potential (Parks Canada, 1975), 10.
2. Ibid.
3. Opportunities for Redevelopment of the C.N.R. East Yards (a report prepared by the Task Force established by the Board of Commissioners) (Winnipeg City of Winnipeg, 17 March 1975), 9.
4. Ibid., 22.
5. Ibid., 30.
6. Ibid., 36.
7. Ibid., 44.
8. Ibid., 47.
9. W.L. Wardrop & Associates, C.N.R. East Yards Redevelopment, servicing report (February 1978), 2.
10. Winnipeg Free Press, 19 May 1984.
11. "The Expressway Debate: Progress or Destruction?" New York Times, 1 May 1967, 40.

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APPENDIX

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